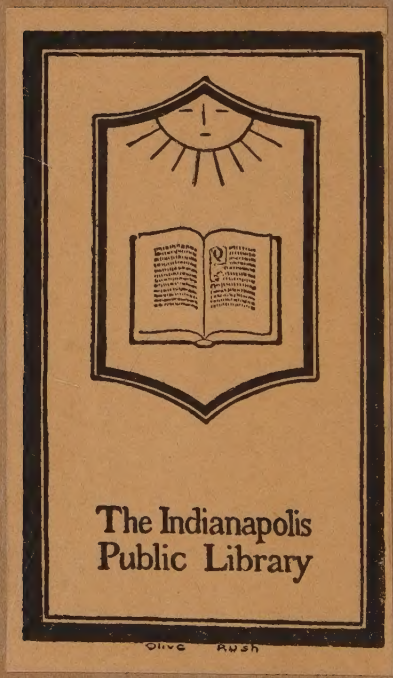
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MEMOIRS

OF

THE COURT

OF

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Katherine (Byerley)

By Mrs. A. T. THOMSON.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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TO

HENRY REVELL REYNOLDS, Esq.

AS A TRIBUTE OF ESTEEM

FOR

THE EXCELLENT QUALITIES OF HIS HEART,

AND

OF RESPECT FOR HIS TALENTS,

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS SINCERE FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WERE Historical Memoirs of particular reigns an unprecedented species of writing in this country, the author of this work would consider, that some explanation of the distinction between them and History, properly so called, might be necessary; but, as this is not the case, she has only diffidently to hope, that, in presenting it to the Public, it will meet with some share of indulgence. She has endeavoured to bring within the limits of her book every circumstance of interest which characterized the important period of which it treats; and, avoiding every party feeling either with respect to religion or politics, she has attempted to display a fair and correct picture of the Reformation and its origin.

While the author is aware, that a Memoir should embrace particulars and a detail of

occurrences which are totally incompatible with the dignity of History, she is also sensible that it would be both tedious, and unnecessary, to present that minute view of transactions which is consonant with the labours of the Chronicler; and she trusts, that in taking a middle course, her work will be found to convey information and entertainment to the general reader, unincumbered with prolixity. Such as it is, she commits it, not without feelings of anxiety for its fate, to the Public; at whose tribunal she is, however, confident, no judgment is finally pronounced which is unmerited.

Much additional information respecting many points upon which this Memoir treats, may doubtless, however, yet be obtained; and the author, amid thankfulness for many sources of investigation which have been opened to her, has to regret that the valuable discoveries at the State Paper Office, are yet to be disclosed to the Public.

91, *Sloane Street,*
May 3d, 1826.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE COURT OF

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

CHAP. I.

Accession of Henry the Eighth. — His Education. — Margaret, Countess of Richmond. — Members of the Council. — The Principle on which they were chosen. — Funeral of Henry the Seventh. — Proceedings of Parliament. — Empson and Dudley. — Marriage and Coronation of the King and Queen.

HENRY THE EIGHTH, second son of Henry the Seventh, by his consort Elizabeth of York, commonly called, from her excellent character, good Queen Elizabeth*, became heir to the Crown of England, in consequence of the death of Arthur, Prince of Wales, his elder brother, and ascended the throne on the decease of his father.† That politic and wary monarch had designed him, according to some historians, for

* *Holinshed*, p. 530.

† Henry the Seventh had, by his wife Elizabeth of York, eight children, four sons and four daughters; three only of these survived him: Henry the Eighth, Margaret, Queen of Scotland, and Mary, afterwards Queen of France. *Holinshed*, p. 541.

the archbishopric of Canterbury; and it has been supposed, that this project was dictated by important considerations, calculated to influence a mind so peculiarly characterized by caution and foresight, as that of Henry the Seventh.

A desire to avoid encumbering the nation with an expensive provision for a younger son; the hope of contributing essentially to the interests of the reigning family, by securing the primacy to one of its nearest connections, and even a remote expectation that the dignity of Cardinal might, one day, be added to that exalted station, are conjectured to have influenced this sagacious king in the education of his second son.

In support of these surmises, it has been remarked, that the instructions bestowed upon Prince Henry by his preceptor, Skelton, were calculated to render him a scholar and a churchman, rather than an enlightened legislator. He was tutored in the philosophy of the schools, especially the Aristoteleian, then the most in credit with the learned; he was skilled in the Latin * and French languages, which he spoke with fluency; and usually wrote his familiar letters in the French tongue; and in music his knowledge was said to be considerable. To

* He wrote, in 1508, a Latin letter to Erasmus, which that great scholar preserved in a box, and displayed with pride, as a favourable specimen of classical composition. See *Jortin's Life of Erasmus*, Ep. 451. See Appendix.

these accomplishments, Henry added a taste for poetry; for a ballad is still extant, which, from the testimony of one of his household, the father of Sir John Harrington, is admitted as a genuine effusion of his muse; and, from the poverty of its numbers, and the eccentricity of its rhymes, we are led to infer that it would not have remained extant, had it not been of royal origin.* To theological studies, Henry devoted his attention in early life with ardour, and with success; at least, this part of his attainments is not to be despised, since it enabled him in after times to procure for himself and his successors the title of Defender of the Faith. The good effect of these pursuits on the character of the future sovereign may be questioned. Divinity, as it was at that period taught in the schools, tended little to enlarge the views, or to give soundness to the opinions of its students; and thence, probably, the violent prejudices of Henry, his conceit, the intemperance of his polemical discussions, his vacillations on important points, and his obstinacy in those of less moment. His acquirements, however we may view them, were uncommon, in an age when it was thought sufficient for a young nobleman "to wind a horn, to carry his hawk fair, and to

* See *Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors*. Art. Hen. VIII.

leave study and learning to the children of mean people;" and the bias of his education may seem to have implied a destination for the convocation, or the cloister, rather than for the council or the field. But it is more than probable, that no such intentions as have been inferred on the part of his father, subsisted. Henry the Seventh, illiterate himself, prized learning, which his mother, the Countess of Richmond, the foundress of two Colleges, had set him an example of encouraging; and he was, besides, desirous of diverting the attention of his sons from inquiries into the nature of a succession in which they had the manifest superiority over their father. The facts, too, that Prince Arthur* shared a similar course of instruction with his brother; and that his death, when Henry was only eleven years of age, caused no alteration in the studies of the heir-apparent, appear to decide that these pursuits resulted merely from the inclination of their father. Henry the Seventh, although not like his son, deserving the appellation of Beauclerc †, had the same touches of polemical mania which afterwards,

* Giles Dewes, Clerk of the Library to Henry the Seventh and the Eighth, instructed Prince Arthur and the Lady Mary in the French tongue, (*Weaver's Funeral Monuments*, p. 398.) and might, therefore, possibly have had some share also in the tuition of Prince Henry.

* See *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* vol. i. p. 18.

sometimes creditably, sometimes disgracefully, distinguished his successor.*

Margaret, Countess of Richmond, to whom the guardianship of the young king was committed by Henry the Seventh, was a lady of reputed learning, and of noted piety; and not likely to discourage her grandson, over whose mind she possessed considerable controul, from studious habits and theological inquiries. The foundress of St. John's and of Christ's Colleges at Cambridge, and a liberal patroness of literature, this venerable lady was regarded, at the court of her son, as the model of propriety and of virtue; and in an age of superstition she advanced her fame for piety, by declaring, "that if the princes of Christendom would unite in a crusade against the Turks, she would willingly attend as a laundress in the camp." Her forbearance, and self-denial, as well as her devotion, have been extolled, for a vow of celibacy which she imposed upon herself, though

* Henry the Seventh, by the weight either of his authority or of his argument, once confuted a Lollard in public disputation at Cambridge; and he took so much interest in mathematics, that one Hodgkin, vicar of Ringwood, in Essex, remarkable for his skill in that science, received frequent visits from him on that account. *Weaver's Funeral Monuments.*

not until after the death of her third husband. * The respectful observance which her son, Henry the Seventh, paid her, is evinced by the privilege which he allowed her, of occasionally signing herself as queen. † To so grave and dignified a personage, was the superintendance of the young king assigned, upon the decease of his father.

With the approbation of the Countess of Richmond, the counsellors and servants of the late monarch were retained in the confidence and about the person of his successor. It is a matter of some curiosity to inquire into the merits and characters of those who presided over the commencement of so remarkable a reign as that of Henry the Eighth. In selecting

* Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, preached her funeral sermon, in which he compared her to Martha, for nobility of person, chastity, love of God, &c. He summed up by enumerating her relationship to thirty kings and queens, within the four degrees of marriage, besides dukes, marquisses, earls, and other nobles. In addition to her other accomplishments, the venerable countess was the translatress of some devotional works from the French (See *Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors*); and so expert a needlewoman, that a piece of tapestry was long preserved, as her production, at Bletsko, in Bedfordshire, where she was born; and was constantly called for by King James the First when on his progresses. The countess published, also, orders for precedence, by which she regulated the dresses, and defined the etiquettes to be observed by ladies of rank. *Fuller's Church Hist.* p. 94. The venerable Margaret was also a justice of the peace. *Warton's Hist. Poet.* vol. i. p. 200.

† *Ellis's Letters on English History,* vol. i. p. 49.

his ministers and agents, it was the policy of Henry the Seventh to prefer lawyers, and churchmen; because he could reward them with ease, and with little expence. It was his custom, also, to bestow marks of favour upon families of recent elevation in society, by which means he repressed the ascendancy of the ancient nobles, encouraged talent, and obtained a more complete sway over the minds of those whom he employed, than he could have exercised over the heads of proud and powerful families. Upon these principles some of the most eminent of the privy counsellors were chosen. Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, the Lord Treasurer, of an ancient family, it is true, had yet been attached to the unfortunate house of York, and had been recently reconciled to the victorious party. At the battle of Bosworth, where his father, the Duke of Norfolk had fallen, fighting for Richard the Third, Surrey had been one of the bravest combatants on the same side; and, after defending himself to the last, was obliged to surrender his sword; when, being reproached by the victor, Henry the Seventh, for taking up arms in favour of an usurper, he made this magnanimous reply: "Sir, he was my crowned king: let the authority of parliament place the crown on that stake, and I will fight for it; so would I have fought for you, had the same

authority placed the crown on your head." This brave man was, notwithstanding, attainted and imprisoned in the tower. When Henry was called, by Lincoln's rebellion, to the north, Surrey was offered his liberty by the lieutenant of the tower, but, retaining the same principle of fidelity to the reigning monarch, which actuated his former conduct, he rejected the proposal, and replied: "If the king be alive, show me where his grace is, that I may do him service." This honourable and politic behaviour obtained, at length, the confidence of the distrustful Henry; and Surrey became, afterwards, one of his most favoured, and most faithful servants.*

Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was another confidential agent of Henry the Seventh; and by his assistance, much of the immense treasure which now enriched the exchequer, had been collected. This sum amounting to 1,800,000*l.*, the bishop lived to see dissipated in three years. Of a less compliant disposition, the counsels of Fox, more prudent than those of Surrey, soon ceased to be equally acceptable to the young king, who quickly evinced an inclination to dissipate that wealth which had been accumulated by the indefatigable avarice of his father.

* See *Nott's Life of Surrey.*

William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor, a man of a cautious temper, and well versed in the laws, was another prominent character in the council, where he still, in conformity with the wishes of the late king, retained his place. This prelate, who rose from a vicarage to the primacy *, was a man of learning, and of moral worth, though somewhat addicted to persecution. Erasmus has eulogized his merits in a dedication prefixed to an edition of Saint Jerome, which that scholar has addressed to him; and his virtues have been affectionately recorded by Sir Thomas More, in his preliminary discourse to the Utopia.

Thoms Ruthall, Doctor of Laws, and Bishop of Durham, was a man in whose judgment Henry the Eighth afterwards found reason to repose considerable reliance, and whom he frequently consulted on business of state, and employed in foreign embassies of importance. The following anecdote is related of this prelate. Some years after the accession of the young king, he employed Ruthall to draw up a statement of the general condition of his kingdom. Ruthall, having finished his treatise, caused it to be richly bound in vellum, and adorned in a costly manner: at the same time, he had written

* Warham, as it appears from an inscription in the church of Barly, in Hertfordshire, was vicar of that place. *Weaver's Funeral Monuments.*

an account of his private affairs, which was contained in a cover similar to that of the work which he intended to present to the king. This, unfortunately, he put by mistake into the hands of Wolsey, who was deputed by the king to receive the treatise: Wolsey, discovering the mistake, and perceiving by the statement that the bishop was very rich, congratulated Henry upon the disclosure of wealth upon which he might seize in emergency. The bishop, knowing the rapacity of those with whom he had to deal, experienced so much vexation at this accident, that he is said to have died of a fever, occasioned by chagrin.*

The rest of the council consisted chiefly of military men: — George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward of the Household to Henry the Seventh, retained his place: also, Sir Edward Poynings, Comptroller of the Household, whose name is still celebrated in Ireland for a statute which had been enacted in the preceding reign.† Sir Charles Somerset, commonly stiled, in right

* *Biographia Britannica*, vol. v. p. 425. — The reader cannot fail to remember the singular and ill-judged manner in which Shakspeare introduces this incident in his play of Henry the Eighth: in which the politic and wary cardinal is said to have committed this gross mistake.

† Poynings procured an act in the Irish parliament, decreeing that "all former acts of the English parliament should be binding in Ireland; and, secondly, that before any Irish parliament should be holden, copies of the acts proposed to be passed should be sent over to England, for the approbation of the king and council."

of his wife, Lord Herbert of Gower, the ancestor of the present Dukes of Beaufort, was natural son to the Duke of Somerset, and was called to parliament by the title of his wife: Sir Edward Marney, afterwards Lord Marney, and Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards Lord Darcy; these two counsellors owed much of their elevation to royal favour, especially Marney, who, having been an early and favourite companion of the young king, was introduced into the council at his request. The origin of Marney was obscure, and we find him and Darcy afterwards designated by Henry as "mean and scarce born gentlemen, of no great lands, until promoted by us, and so made knights."* The descent of Darcy did not merit to be thus stigmatized. The name of Darcy was ancient and honourable, although the estates had reverted to another branch of the family. These circumstances were not, however, unfavourable at the court either of Henry or his father; they afforded an opportunity of conferring favours, which might secure the allegiance of the poor, but deserving aspirant for fame. To Marney, therefore, was given the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Darcy, who afterwards fell under the displeasure of his sovereign, was made chief justice in eyre of the forests beyond the Trent.† To these

* *Fuller's Church Hist.* p. 224. † Ibid. p. 225.

were joined Sir Thomas Noel, Master of the Wards, and Sir Thomas Wiatt, more famed as the father of the poet, than for his own merits: yet the qualities of prudence and probity, which he displayed, cannot be too much estimated in a public station, and have this felicity attending them, which brilliant talents cannot command,—that they can be possessed unenvied, and in security.

Such were the persons who composed the council of the young king, into whose hands the reins of government were consigned, when he had only completed his eighteenth year. The Countess of Richmond selected these experienced advisers from among those in whom the deceased King had chiefly confided; and bestowed upon them their several offices, not from private regard, nor court favour; not because they had flattered female vanity or gratified avarice, but because they were men possessed of intellectual strength and of moral honesty; whose wisdom might guide, and whose fidelity would protect their prince. "Thus," says Lord Herbert of Cherbury, "without divulging any secret, or descending from the dignity of their place, to require advice from their inferiors, they moved in their own orb." *

July 22, 1509.

The exclusion of lawyers from the privy

* *Lord Herbert*, p. 3.

council of Henry the Eighth is remarkable, and arose, it is probable, from the unpopularity of many of the agents of his father, who were of the legal profession. The principle which composed this council, developed itself plainly in the conduct of the young king, when his public character became decided; and it was found during the course of his reign that he adhered "less to reason of law, than to reason of state."*

The young king was recommended to retire to Richmond during the performance of the obsequies of his father, in order to avoid the acclamations of the people: for it was thought, that their joy might be expressed with some indecorum on the appearance of a generous and affable prince, whose disposition seemed to present every thing that was opposite to the hard and oppressive character of their late ruler. It was designed to conduct the funeral with great solemnity and magnificence, and to deposit the body in the superb chapel at Westminster, on which Henry the Seventh, notwithstanding his love of accumulating money, had expended, according to some accounts, 14,000*l.*, and to others, 20,000*l.*; a very considerable sum in those days. The skill of foreign artists was employed in this master-piece of architecture, which was

* *Herbert.*

intended to serve as a sepulchre for the late king and his successors. Torrigiano, a Florentine of some note, is said to have erected the tomb, which excites the envy and admiration of modern architects, and reconciles us in some measure to the superstition, not unmingled with worldly vanity, which caused its erection.

The body of the deceased king was conveyed from Richmond to Saint George's Fields, where it was met by many of the clergy, who accompanied it to London Bridge. Thence it was attended by the mayor and aldermen, in suits of deep mourning, to St. Paul's ; where, after a solemn mass and dirge had been performed, and a sermon preached by the Bishop of Rochester, it was deposited for that night. On the ensuing day, it was placed under a sumptuous hearse, or canopy ; an image of the defunct placed on the corpse, apparelled in robes of state, with a ball and sceptre in the hands ; and in this array the funeral proceeded to Westminster, where lights were placed on the hearse, which, moving along the obscure aisles of the Abbey, must have produced great solemnity. The image being laid on a cushion, covered with a pall of gold, and the hearse placed within a double railing, the chief mourners took their places within the first rail, while the knights, bearing banners of state, and the officers of state,

stood without. Garter, king of arms, then made this anouncement; "For the soul of Henry the Seventh, late king of this realm;" on which was sung a funeral dirge, and the mourners departed into the palace of Westminster. On the next day the body was laid in the tomb, and three masses were performed; at the last of which were offered the sword, the target, and the helmet of the deceased monarch; and the lords treasurer, the steward, and the chamberlain, broke their staves and cast them into the grave. After these ceremonies, Garter, with a loud voice proclaimed the young king, and the company returned to the palace, and enjoyed the refreshment of a sumptuous banquet.*

On the 25th of April the parliament was convened, when a confirmation was given to the pardon, published by the late king a short time before his decease, for all offences except treason, felony and murder, and in the same proclamation an order was issued for all beggars and vagabonds to depart from London to the places where they were born; but a still more popular resolution was manifested, not only to discontinue the commission for forfeitures, established in the preceding reign, but to visit, with severe retribution, the iniquitous agents in those transactions.

* *Hall*, p. 507.

Covetousness, a vice which increases in proportion to its gratification, having annihilated, in the bosom of Henry the Seventh, all principles of justice, he had resorted to other means of adding to his treasures, besides the subsidies which were voted to him by parliament. As he was fully aware of the proneness of his people to offend against the penal statutes, he caused an inquisition to be made into the private conduct of individuals; and the result of this investigation proved that few, of any rank or class of persons, were exempt from the charge of having infringed on one or other of the laws. At first, those who were convicted, escaped with fines; but the appetite for extortion increasing as his plans succeeded, Henry the Seventh had established a commission of forfeitures, of which he made Richard Empson, and Edmund Dudley, the surveyors. These men, assisted by promoters, or informers, executed their authority with the utmost rigour; and indifferent to the danger of exasperating the people, or to the ignominy of their own characters, exercised the most oppressive injustice.

The hour of punishment, however, arrived. On the very day of the king's death, according to one account, Empson and Dudley were committed to the tower, and were soon afterwards, charged with their offences before the

privy council. Empson made an ingenious defence *, by which some members of the council were conciliated; but the majority, considering that the conduct of these men and of the late king proceeded rather from avarice, than from zeal for the preservation of order, and having, in various instances, experienced the effects of their scrutiny, pronounced them guilty; yet, as they could not be convicted by the letter of the law, and as it was decorous to avoid any appearance of dishonour to the memory of the late king, they were condemned upon a false accusation of intending to withhold their allegiance from the reigning monarch. From some scruples in the minds of the judges, their execution was deferred until the ensuing year †: but immediate restitutions were made, by command of the young king, of large sums, to various persons who had suffered injury from these oppressors; and laws were enacted, Aug. 17. 1509.

* Dudley wrote a book during his imprisonment, with a hope of conciliating the King, but it never met the eyes of him for whom it was intended. This work, entitled the "Tree of the Commonwealth," was discovered by Stow, and transcribed and presented to the Earl of Warwick, the descendant of Dudley. The original was afterwards purchased by the Earl of Oxford. *Biographia Britannica*, vol. v. p. 425.

† It was supposed that Queen Katharine had interfered in their behalf. See *Stowe's Annals*, p. 487.

in order to protect the subject from similar injustice. The informers did not escape just punishment; but, to the great joy of the people, were branded, and set in the pillory.*

The day on which justice was gratified with the committal of these two men to the Tower, was sullied by the hasty and unmerited imprisonment of Lord Henry Stafford, brother of the Duke of Buckingham; on account, it is supposed, of some suspicions, which were shortly found to be groundless: for, in the same year, he was liberated and created Earl of Wiltshire, as a compensation for the injury which he had sustained.

The next deliberations of the council regarded the coronation and marriage of the King. Little did Henry then apprehend that the discussions, which were finally resolved into an approbation of his union with Katharine of Arragon, should involve him, in succeeding years, in a maze of

* The estates of Empson and Dudley were confiscated. The King granted a considerable portion of Empson's lands to Sir Henry Wyatt. *Nott's Life of Wyatt.* In 1511 the King restored John Dudley to the estates of his father, and, towards the end of his reign, bestowed upon him the place of Lord Admiral, and he afterwards became one of the most powerful subjects that ever existed in this country. The Dudleys were of ancient descent: Empson, on the other hand, was the son of a sieve-maker. See *Herbert*, p. 13.

difficulties, fears, and disappointments. It is necessary, in order to enter fully into the origin and the decline of his connection with that ill-fated Princess of Spain, to look back on the events of the preceding reign.

Henry the Seventh had always assiduously cherished the good-will and alliance of Ferdinand, King of Arragon; partly, because success had continually attended the career of that monarch; partly, from a similarity of policy and of character, and more, perhaps, because, from their respective situations, no jealousies and apprehensions could disturb the semblance of friendship which princes are obliged to maintain in their negociations with one another. The desire of Henry for a permanent union with Spain was gratified by the marriage of Arthur Prince of Wales with Katharine, Infanta of Portugal, the fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Arthur was, at that time, sixteen and Katharine eighteen years of age. * They lived together for some months, when the death

* The extreme anxiety of Henry the Seventh to conclude the match between Arthur and Katharine, is evinced by an anecdote mentioned by Dr. Henry. "On his arriving at a village where Katherine was to lodge for the night, he was informed that the Princess had already retired to rest: but he announced his intention of visiting her bed-side, obliged her to rise and dress to receive him, and affianced

of Arthur frustrated the scheme of his father, and alarmed him lest the rich dowry which Katharine had brought, the most considerable with which any princess had enriched this country for many years, should, after its reception into his treasury, revisit the Spanish shores. * To prevent this disaster, he consented to a contract of marriage between Katharine and his youngest son, then Duke of York; who, it is said, made as strong an opposition to these nuptials, as so young a boy could evince; but, considering the thoughtless indifference usual at his time of life, to matters which do not affect the passing hour, little credit can be assigned to this tale of his repugnance.

1505. It is, however, certain, that at a more mature age, he protested against the union †: to which step he was, no doubt, instigated by the counsels of others. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had great influence with Henry the Seventh, strongly opposed this connection, and told the King that "it would be acceptable neither to God nor to man:" but Fox, Bishop of Winchester, combated that

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her that evening to his son, Prince Arthur." See *Henry's Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. xii. chap. vi. p. 351.

* *Lord Herbert*, p. 7.

† See protest of Henry against this marriage, in *Collier's Eccl. Hist. Records. No.* 2.

opinion with such arguments, as, for some time, at least, quieted the conscience of his sovereign. It has been confidently affirmed, that Henry the Seventh never thoroughly approved the marriage; and that, roused by the emphatic representations of Warham to a sense of its impropriety, he enjoined his son, with his dying breath, not to consummate so iniquitous a contract. The character of that king, however, renders this account improbable; the same avaricious motives were still as much in force, as when he assented to the objectionable proceeding; and it does not appear that he became less anxious to accumulate treasures in the later, than he had been in the earlier part of his reign. If the last reflections of this wary monarch were embittered by uneasiness on this point, it is less likely that religious fears suggested these scruples, than that the anticipation of those evils which might accrue from a disputed succession to the crown, disturbed his mind.*

Whatever qualms of self-reproach might have followed the betrothment of the young Prince Henry to Katharine, in the minds of the agents in that business, all possible means were taken to facilitate and to sanction the transaction.

* *Herbert*, p. 8. *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 63.

Two Popes, Alexander the Sixth, and Pius the Third, died, indeed, before they had settled the point; but a bull was easily obtained from Pope Julius the Second, who, besides his desire of strengthening an alliance which he had much at heart, as it would operate against Lewis the Twelfth of France, had cogent reasons for granting this dispensation. The children of so equivocal an union would have strong inducements to adhere firmly to the papacy, since, by disputing its authority, they would proclaim their own illegitimàcy; the see of Rome might therefore calculate on the friendship of the English monarchs for some generations. The event, however, proved, that the capricious temper and arbitrary passions of one of the parties in this important proceeding converted the benefits to his successors anticipated by Julius, into consequences extremely detrimental to the papal authority.

The marriage-contract between Katharine and Henry was not completely ratified until after the accession of the young king to the throne, when contending opinions agitated the council respecting this important topic. The most experienced members of the council urged, in forcible terms, the completion of the nuptials. They represented, "that the same reasons that prompted their late sovereign to match his

eldest son with the Spanish princess, were still in force;" that, "since Henry had pretensions to the crown of France, no alliance in that quarter could be expected;" that "jealousies would arise between great estates which approximate, so that they might sometimes make peace, but never friendship." "Leagues and confederations," said these sage counsellors, "have in them sometimes the nature of harmonical concords, which jar in the second, but agree in the third interval." * They further suggested, how necessary it might be to conciliate so powerful a monarch as Ferdinand, whose assistance in checking the dreaded power of France, which had become still more formidable since the recent acquisition of Burgundy, would, in all probability, prove of vital importance to our national interests. Even the precepts of Holy Writ were adduced to sanction the connection: so frequently does it occur, that men, to support a favourite measure, will not fail to describe as correct and equitable that which they know to be merely expedient. † Thus, assured by the arguments of his council, by the approbation of the Pope, and by the wishes of his people, of the wisdom and policy

* *Lord Herbert*, p. 7.

† A text was adduced from Deuteronomy, chap. xxv., in support of marrying a brother's wife.

of the connection, and induced, by his own inclinations, to accede to it, Henry espoused Katharine of Arragon, six weeks after the death of his father, on the third, or as some historians affirm, on the seventh of June.

Great preparations were now made for the coronation of the royal pair*; for Henry, in this, and in all the subsequent ceremonies of his reign, evinced a taste for splendour, which, being then new to the people, contributed to their enthusiastic admiration of the graces and accomplishments, which in every entertainment it was his successful endeavour to display.

On the eleventh of June, the King came to the Tower from Greenwich, attended by many of the nobility, amongst whom the Duke of Buckingham was remarked for the costliness of his apparel, his robe being richly embroidered with gold. After creating twenty-four knights of the Bath, Henry, accompanied by Katharine, proceeded in state, according to usage at coronations, from the Tower, through the streets of London, which were hung for the occasion with tapestry and cloth of Arras. The inhabitants of part of Cornhill, and the south side of Cheap, desirous of surpassing

June 21. 1509.

* Sir Thomas More, then an obscure individual, wrote a poem on this occasion. See *Jortin's Erasmus*, vol. i.

their neighbours in splendour, had their houses hung with cloth of gold. Behind railings, stood every trade in its livery, beginning with the lowest, and ascending to the highest craft: the mayor and aldermen closed the list. From these useful but not attractive personages, the eyes of the spectator glanced with interest towards a groupe of virgins in white robes, emblematical of their own innocence, extending to the extremity of Old Change, bearing in their hands branches of white wax, and attended by guardian priests, whose rich copes formed a lively contrast to the simple attire of the females. Such were the accompaniments of the procession, while ever and anon the silver censers threw up a rich incense, to perfume the path of the gentle yet dignified Katharine, unconscious that the road which was thus varied by successive scenes of magnificence conducted her to future humiliation and sorrow.

The comely appearance of the King on this day, his affable demeanour, and his rich attire, have been celebrated by the chroniclers of the period.* Much less has been said respecting the personal attractions of the Queen; although one historian asserts that in her early days she was not, in beauty and dignity, easily to be paralleled: nor can we suppose that a woman, who, during

* *Hall and Holinshed,* 1st year of Henry VIII.

twenty years, retained the regard, although not the exclusive attachment of such a prince as Henry the Eighth, who set so much value upon external advantages, as even to think them requisite in his attendants, could be wholly devoid of external charms. The silence, however, respecting her appearance, maintained in those chronicles, which so minutely describe the graces of her consort, and of her rival, Anne Boleyn, seems to imply, either that she was not eminently handsome, or that the modesty and simplicity of her deportment, on public occasions, concealed her from universal admiration.* Henry was, on all occasions, extremely attentive to dress; in this respect the practice of the age absolves him, in some degree, from the foible of personal vanity. The coronation robes were of crimson velvet, furred with ermine; the vest was of brocaded gold; the placard, or front, embroidered with diamonds and immense pearls, and with rubies and other precious stones: round his neck hung a baldrick, or belt of balasses, a species of ruby; his steed was caparisoned in trappings of gold, with a purfle, or border of ermine. On this occasion the body knights and esquires were in crimson dresses: these personal

* Burnet speaks of her as "rough in her manners, and homely in her person"; but this was in the later period of her life.

attendants on the monarch were gentlemen archers, to the number of fifty. They had been recently enlisted by the King, and the Earl of Essex appointed their commander. The arms which they were allowed to bear consisted of a bow and arrows, a spear, and a demi-lance ; and each archer was attended by a custrell, or buckler bearer.* After these knights came the King, then his chaplain, and all his household servants in scarlet dresses : but, previously, the rights of England over foreign territories had been displayed by two personages, bearing about their bodies two robes ; one, denoting the supposed claims on the duchy of Guienne ; the other, those on Normandy. The household were followed by the King's hat and cloak, borne by two persons. Sir Thomas Brandon, master of the horse, leading the King's courser by a rein of gold, in a harness of curious and valuable workmanship, followed the hat and cloak. The nine children of honour then made their appearance : their office was to designate, on the trappings of their horses, the titles of the English monarch to the realms of England and France, and to the provinces of Gascoigne, Guienne, Normandy, Anjou, Wales, and Ireland : the arms of these

* The habiliments of this troop, and the trappings of the horses, were so expensive, that they were shortly afterwards disbanded.

estates were severally wrought upon velvet, with embroidery of gold.

The retinue of the Queen was equally numerous and magnificent. It must be observed, that, on this occasion, Katharine was attired as a virgin. She was seated upon a litter drawn by two white palfreys, which were covered with white cloth of gold: her dress was of white embroidered satin; her hair, which was very beautiful, and of great length, hung in tresses down her back; and her head was crowned with a dazzling coronet of orient jewels. The procession was closed by a train of whirlecotes, a species of chariot *; for coaches, similar to those which are now used, were not known in this country until a later period. In these vehicles sat ladies of quality, the fair ornaments of a scene, which the joyousness of the occasion, and the youth and attractions which gave, even to royalty, additional interest, combined with the hope of future peace to a land which had long been agitated by the cruel discords of civil war, united to render one of the most memorable, exhilarating, and splendid, that England had witnessed during several centuries. The acclamations of the multitude attended the train, as it slowly proceeded to the palace of Westminster, where diligent preparation had been made for its reception.

* *Hall*, p. 503.

June 21. On the day following the procession of the royal pair, the ceremony of the coronation was performed. The youthful King and Queen, each under a canopy, carried by the Barons of the Cinque Ports, repaired to the sacred shrine of Westminster. A platform had been raised for the accommodation of the procession, and it was covered with what was then vulgarly called cloth of ray, which was seized and divided by the rude hands of the crowd, in England even then proverbially disdainful of decorum, as soon as the King and Queen had entered the Abbey.

After the ceremony of anointing the monarch and his consort had been completed, the usual question was demanded of the people, whether "they would receive as their sovereign the noble Prince Henry?" which received an enthusiastic assent. The homage of the nobles was then accepted; and the procession, removing to Westminster Hall, the arrangements which were necessary for those persons, who had privileges to do service to the King, were settled by the tipstaves.

The King and the Queen were seated on a stage, elevated at the extremity of the Hall. On the first service being brought in, the trumpets sounded, and the Duke of Buckingham, accompanied by the Lord High Steward, and mounted on a courser, the trappings of which were richly

embossed with gold, rode before the service. At the King's feet, under the table, sat several gentlemen during the feast; and the same act of humble reverence, or, according to our present ideas, of unnecessary abasement, was performed towards the Queen.* The feast was, in the words of the chronicler Hall, "long and royal." He expatiates with enthusiasm on the "honourable ordre of the services," on "the cleane handelying and breakying of meates," the "ordering of the dishes, and plentiful abundaunce." But, as he kindly spares us the enumeration of the particular viands which refreshed the royal palate, we must be satisfied with the assurance, that "none of any estate beeing there, did lacke, nor no honourable or worshipful person go unfeasted."

On the second course being served, all eyes were directed towards the door of the Hall; when, behold! a knight entered on a courser, armed at all points; his helmet surmounted with towering plumes, and his bases richly embroidered: on the trappings of his horse were wrought the arms of England and France. This martial figure, preceded by a herald at arms, riding up the Hall, presented himself to the King and Queen, with a low reverence;

* On ordinary occasions this place was reserved for the king's fool or jester. See *Treatise on Kervyng*, in *Ames's History of Typography*.

then Garter, King at arms, cried out to him, "Sir Knight, whence come you, and what is your pretence?" "Sir," replied the unknown warrior, "the place from which I come is not material, nor the cause of my repairing hither concerning matter of any country, but only this:" then commanding his herald to make an oyez; "Now," said he, "shall ye know the cause of my coming and pretence." "If there be any person, of what estate or condition soever he may be, that will say or prove that King Henry is not the rightful inheritor of this realm, I, Sir Robert Dimmocke, here his champion, offer my glove to fight his quarrel to the uttermost." * This proclamation was made several times in the Hall, and his gauntlet cast down, in support of the challenge; but no opponent appearing, the knight returned to the King, and demanded, not only to drink from a golden cup, but to retain the cup and cover as his right; and having received them, he departed from the Hall, and entering the armoury, by right of his tenure, selected thence a suit, next in value to the richest there; the best and richest bases, save one set; and a plume for his helmet. From the armoury the champion proceeded to the stable, whence he chose the horse, considered to be the second in value.

After the tables had been cleared, and the

* *Hall's Chronicles*, 1st year of Henry VIII. p. 509.

wafers brought *, Sir Stephen Jennings, then mayor of London, who had been dubbed a knight before the banquet, served the King with ypocrass †, in a cup of gold, which he claimed. The ceremony of washing was then performed; the King and Queen having retired into their private apartments, and the company separated.

It is remarkable, that after the lapse of three centuries, when our manners, dress, pursuits, amusements, condition and even language, are materially changed, and when, from the alteration in our political and religious affairs, much of the pageantry attending the coronation of our kings has lost all relevancy to the present period, so many of the customary ceremonials should be retained. Perhaps this circumstance may be derived from the lively and attractive character of these rites and customs, which are calculated to amuse and to interest all ranks of people: perhaps from the difficulty of substituting others which would be equally popular and impressive. Whatever may be the cause, the effect produced

* The service of paying for, and of placing five wafers before the King, as he sits at dinner, on the day of his coronation, belongs to the owner of the manor of Overhale, in the parish of Liston, in Essex. *Weaver's Funeral Mon.* p. 627.

† Ypocrass, a costly beverage, used chiefly at royal banquets, was composed of red wine, cinnamon, ginger, and other spices, run through a woollen bag, in the same manner as our modern jellies. See *Strutt's Manners and Customs*, vol. iii. p. 74.

by the representation of those chivalrous ceremonials of our ancestors, when right was to be defended at the sword's point, in single combat, will long continue to afford the same species of enjoyment which we participate, when we witness in a drama the events of former days, and are carried back in idea to the interests and passions of our forefathers.

The festivities which usually succeeded the coronation were in the present instance, however, checked by the death of Margaret Countess of Richmond, who closed an eventful and virtuous life on the twenty-ninth of June; having lived just long enough to behold her grandson seated upon the throne. Other events tended also, during the first year of this reign, to cast a gloom over the court, which, but for untoward circumstances, would have presented a scene of constant pastime and rejoicings. The king was obliged, towards the close of the year, to retreat to his palace at Richmond, not only from respect to the queen, who awaited there her confinement, but from the prevalence of the sweating sickness, which then raged in the capital. This disease, which was a species of ephemeral fever, had first appeared in London in 1486, and had acquired its name from the nature of the symptoms with which the sufferers were attacked. The vitiated grain which was in use about this period

has been assigned as the cause of this dangerous and afflicting malady; and the inference is partly deduced from the circumstance that the "contemporary inhabitants of Scotland and Wales, who fed on oaten or barley instead of wheaten bread, were not affected." But the dissemination of this fever in Holland, Germany, France, Flanders, Norway, and Denmark, renders this supposition improbable; and leads rather to a conclusion, agreeable to the opinion of an ingenious writer of the present day, that it "was more probably a peculiar contagion, that has long since worn itself out, and become decomposed, though it may still be latent, and only waiting for its proper auxiliaries once more to shew itself in the field."*

The consequences of this sickness were so speedy, and in most cases so awful, that a discovery of the source of the evil would have been a most desirable blessing, as leading to the prevention of its recurrence; but the deficiency in medical skill at this era prevented any hope of effectual remedy, or of those means being adopted which might render the individuals less liable to the disease. The lively description which the chronicler, Hall, gives of this kind of pestilence, impresses on the mind a strong sense

* See note in *Dr. Good's Nosology, from Willan*, p. 125. — Also *note* in p. 121.

of its distressful nature, and of its dreadful effects. "For sodenly," says he, "a dedlye and burning sweate inuaded their bodyes and vexed their blood with a most ardēt heate, infested the stomach and heade greuously: by the tormentyng and vexacion of which sicknes, men were so sore handled and so painfully pangued that if they were laid in their bed, beyng not able to suffre the importune heate, they cast away the shetes and all the clothes lying on the bed."* An intolerable thirst accompanied these sensations, and some of the sufferers drank freely of cold water to relieve this distressing consequence of fever; while others more resolute, endured their anguish, and heaped on additional covering, to increase the profuse perspiration which formed the most prominent symptom of the disorder. Relapses were very frequent; and the weakness produced by repeated attacks of the disease, generally occasioned a fatal decline. After much mournful experience, it was found that a moderate encouragement of the perspiration produced relief; and that remaining in bed, and drinking warm fluids for four-and-twenty hours, rendered the consequences of the sickness less formidable.†

* *Hall's Chronicles*, p. 425, 426.

† Ibid.

The second visitation of this public calamity, which obliged Henry to quit the metropolis, occurred in 1509, and was communicated to the English garrison at Calais: and although it was less severe than the preceding, it was calculated that thirty thousand persons perished in the metropolis, during a short space of time, from this inveterate sickness: nor did itentirely abandon the capital during the course of forty years, after this visitation.

Meanwhile the king prepared to keep his Christmas at Richmond. In compliance with the notions of propriety which then prevailed, and which had been partly instilled among the ladies of the court by the Countess of Richmond, the queen had taken up her abode at Richmond, in order to keep her chamber during the three last months of her pregnancy. Henry welcomed, with cordial satisfaction, on new year's day, the birth of a son; and processions, bonfires, and an abundant distribution of wine in the public streets, were amongst the indications of joy for the entrance of the infant prince into a world, in which he was not destined long to remain. A splendid christening was prepared: the infant received the name of Henry; the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Surrey officiating as god-fathers, and the Countess of Devonshire,

1510.

daughter of Edward the Fourth, as god-mother.* The queen, after her recovery, removed to Westminster, where solemn jousts were held in her honour. But soon afterwards, her domestic happiness received its first shock from the death of her son, an event which plunged her into the deepest affliction. The grief of Henry was acute; and when the calamity was again inflicted by the hand of Providence, in the early decease of another son, he is said to have attributed his disappointments to the judgments of Heaven, chastising him for the sin of an unhallowed and unlawful marriage. Whether this representation of his feelings be just, or not, must be doubtful: during the whole of his life, however, he manifested extreme anxiety for the birth of a male heir to the crown; and ever displayed that restless jealousy concerning the succession to the throne, which he received as an inheritance from his father, and which he appears to have bequeathed to his daughters. But his sorrow, although on these accounts more severe than it would otherwise have been for the loss of so young a child, was far less poignant than that of the queen. Her pleasures consisted in the retired duties of domestic life, which render the natural affections peculiarly tenacious, and

Feb. 22.

* *Holinshed*, p. 561.

requisite for our happiness. To conciliate the wishes of the king, and to gratify the people, she mingled in scenes of pomp and gaiety, which she dignified by her stately deportment and correct example; but her own inclinations tended to more tranquil enjoyments. Her distress was, therefore, proportionably greater than that of the king. "The queen," says Hall, "like a naturall woman, made much lamentation; how be it, by the king's good grace and persuasion, her sorrow was mitigated, but not shortlye."

CHAP. II.

Character of Henry in his youth. — His diversions. — Characteristic dispositions. — English youth at this period. — Travelling abroad. — Court. — Its deficiency in splendour and refinement. — Causes. — The domestic condition of the Nobility. — The inconveniencies of the olden times. — Mode of making short journeys. — Improvements in dwelling houses. — Dress. — Its extremes. — Importance attached to it by Henry. — Gaiety and splendour introduced by Henry. — Tournaments; that which succeeded the coronation. — Charles Brandon. — The Howards. — The pageant. — Henry fond of disguises. — Banquet at Shrovetide. — Other diversions of the king. — Tilting at the ring. — May-day. — The royal progress. — The king's musical productions. — St. John's day. — Mustering of the city watch. — Combat with battle-axes in Greenwich Park.

HISTORY has depicted the character of Henry the Eighth, chiefly in the light of a scholastic pedant, a grave theologian, a remorseless tyrant over his people, and a slave to his own passions. Few kings have, however, displayed greater variety of powers, or greater opposition of qualities, than this celebrated monarch; and when we contemplate the most prominent points of his character during the later years of his reign, we are surprized, on reverting to the season of his youth, to find him displaying a disposition which augured happiness and peace to his people.

Possessed of many natural advantages, tall and manly in his person, and of a comely countenance, Henry had been carefully instructed in those acquirements which are necessary to give grace and popularity to the deportment of a prince. By the exercise of these his youth was principally diversified; they constituted even the business of his days: to enter fully into these modes of pastime it is requisite to make some cursory remarks upon the manners and pursuits of the period.

The institutions of chivalry, although its spirit was fast declining, were displayed with greater splendour during the commencement of the sixteenth century than when it had flourished most; and, how inconsistent soever the character of Henry might subsequently prove with its exalted professions, he set out in his career with a full determination to support them in their utmost extent.* Early in his reign, he evinced his intention of supporting the order of the garter, by holding a chapter, which he repeated with regularity at the appointed times, and to which he afterwards added a feast, equal in splendour to

May 18.

* Henry took the order of the garter under his especial patronage; so anxious was he for its fame to remain unsullied, that when any knight had been attainted for treason, he would not permit that his name should be expunged from the list of knights, but desired that the words "Oh traitor!" should be inserted in the margin. *Reg. Order of the Garter*, p. 17.

a coronation.* "The education of our English gentry," says a modern writer, in treating of this period, "was nearly as chivalric then as at any period of our history. Boys were sent to school to learn to read at four years of age; at six they were taught languages, and the first principles of manners; from ten to twelve dancing and music were added to their accomplishments, and politeness was particularly encouraged. At fourteen they were initiated into the sports of the field, which prepared them for the ruder exercise of arms. At sixteen they were taught to joust, to fight at the barriers, to manage the war-horse, to assail castles, to support the weight of armour, and to contend in feats of arms with their companions." † To this course of instruction, the English youth of high descent began, at this period, to add another source of improvement. The practice of travelling abroad now first became prevalent; and, to complete the education of an accomplished knight or courtier, it was necessary that he should pass some time at one or other of the universities of Paris, Padua, Bologna, or Bourges. ‡ The general utility of such a custom seems to have been rendered questionable by its

* Ibid. p. 400.

† *Mills's Hist. of Chivalry, and its Times,* vol. ii. p. 116.

‡ Paris celebrated for scholastic theology; Bologna and Orleans, and afterwards Bourges, for jurisprudence; Montpelier for medicine. *Hallam's Middle Ages,* vol. iii. p. 529.

effects; for while it excited honourable minds to improvement in those arts which embellish and diversify the ordinary scenes of life, it produced, in too many instances, an arrogant contempt of English manners, and a disregard of moral ties and obligations. "When they came back again," says Hall, speaking of those young gallants who had thus mistaken licentiousness for good breeding, "they were all French in eating, in drinking, and apparel; yea, and in French brags and vices; so that all estates of England were by them laughed at, the ladies and gentlewomen were dispraised, and nothing was by them praised if it were not after the French turn." * The endeavour, even to assume refinement, might, however, be considered as an amelioration in the manners of the court, which, in its convivial discourses at this period, resembled a low company of persons in a tavern, rather than a polite assemblage of high-born and well-bred persons. †

The reign of the late king had contributed little to add to the enjoyments, or to polish the

* *Hall's Chronicles*, p. 597.

† It was during the reign of Henry the Eighth that Andrew Borde, "a mad physician and a dull poet," published the jests of Scogan, a celebrated buffoon in the court of Edward the Fourth; these "jests" are not only without either humour or invention, but consist of the lowest strain of ribaldry; and coarse indeed must have been the public taste which sanctioned their publication. *Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet.* vol. ii. p. 125.

manners of his court. Few had been the attractions to the metropolis, which was visited but rarely, even by the higher classes of persons in distant counties; and by them only when parliament, or other business, demanded their presence. The taste for social enjoyments had been depressed by a long continuance of civil war, in which many gay and gallant nobles had perished, some families had been almost extinguished, and all were in some degree impoverished. Among those ancient houses which maintained their former splendour animosities prevailed; and, whilst the manifest partiality of Henry the Seventh to the house of Lancaster gave continual fuel to discord, only the semblance of union existed.

Immured on these accounts from frequent intercourse with society, persons of rank, during the early part of the sixteenth century, remained chiefly in their castles, where they kept up a degree of state almost approaching to that with which royalty was surrounded. The expences of these establishments, the manner in which the household was framed, the wages of the domestics, and the regulations by which they were to be controuled, were enacted by a council similar to that of the king; and warrants were issued, signed by the master of the house: the concerns of the castle were superintended by officers of the same name and commission as those in

the royal household. * The clerical inmates were almost equally numerous; and, in these days of superstitious ceremonial, religious rites constituted a considerable portion of the ordinary expences. In the castle of Wresil in Yorkshire, the Earl of Northumberland, one of the richest peers of his time, supported eleven priests, over whom a doctor of divinity presided. † To relieve the tedium of retirement to minds not too well stored with intellectual resources, it was requisite, occasionally, to receive and remunerate strolling players and minstrels ‡; and at the season of Christmas, to attach to each baronial residence, an abbot of misrule §, whose office was to contrive and superintend the revels, in which all persons were then usually engaged.

* These officers were gentlemen by birth, and sat at a table called the Knight's Board. *Northumberland Household Book*, 447.

† The priests were employed in secular concerns, and fulfilled, in the earl's household, the offices of secretary, surveyor, &c.; they were even obliged to deliver in their accounts on the Sunday. Two of them entitled the Gospeller and Pistoler, to read the Gospel and Epistle; another performed the office of Almoner. Ibid. p. 231. — 448.

‡ Three minstrels were usual in the household: their instruments were the tabouret, lute, and rebeck; the rebeck was a fiddle with three strings. Ibid.

§ "*Item. The abbot of misrewl at Chrystymas* xxs." Ibid. — The attendants employed in other offices were of a description which would not be allowed in modern mansions. Among other entries occur, two *rokkers* and a childe to attend upon the nurse, "and a childe to turn the broche," or spit. Ibid.

Occasionally, to enjoy the sweets of privacy and ease, the lord of the castle retired into what was called his "secret house," a small lodge within the precincts of his own domain, and guarded by its proximity to his lofty towers. Here, retaining only a few of his domestics, the younger sons performed the offices of cup-bearer, ewerer, and carver; and here something of domestic felicity might be enjoyed. *

Yet it must not be inferred, from all this pomp and pride of station, that our ancestors, at this period, were acquainted with many of the luxuries, or even with what, in our days, are justly termed the comforts of life. Dinner at ten o'clock in the day; the daily use of wooden trenchers, with pewter on holidays; the absence of forks, and the prevalent neglect of cleanliness, must be taken into account, when we look back to the repasts of olden times. † These were not, however, by any means entirely destitute of

* The Earl (and others in his station) sat at dinner on a raised place at the extremity of a hall, in the lower part of which was a table for the inferior personages of his household. His sons, as far down as the third, his lady and brother, had alone the privilege of sitting with him at the "bord's end." The almoner, carver, cup-bearer, gentlemen yeomen, and gentlemen waiters, were to wait at the Earl's table, and to have the "*revercion*" of his dinner. The distinction of the salt-cellar in the lower table is well known. See *Household Book of the Earl of Northumberland.*

† Forks were not introduced into this country until the time of James I.; and when first brought into use (after the example of the Italians who eat with a little fork) it was, of

attraction to the epicure. Game in abundance, and sometimes of the finest quality; fish, on which Polydore Virgil, a foreigner and a churchman, expatiated with complacency; and the recent introduction of beer and of vegetables, might render the repast tolerable: but, to counterbalance these auxiliaries to appetite, it must be remembered, that from Michaelmas to Easter salt beef was the only meat allotted for general consumption; that vegetables were scarce, and, as well as the feathered tribe, allowed only to the upper table. The consumption of ale and of wine seems also to have been regulated with still greater attention to economy. * To these deprivations must be added the inconvenience attending the want of regular markets, news-

course, thought a piece of affectation and unnecessary refinement to employ their agency in preference to fingers. Hence the custom of washing in a ewer before and after meat. *Household Book of the Earl of Northumberland*, 418.

* The common saying, that "Hops and heresy came into England in the same year," is incorrect, since we find "Malt and hops for my lord's bere" a frequent entry in the earl's Household Book, as early as the third year of Henry the Eighth. It is probable that hops were not cultivated before this period in England, but imported from Flanders.

Turkies, carp, picarell, and beere,
Ceame into England all in one yere.

It is remarkable that the turkey is not mentioned in the Household Book of Northumberland: cranes (then as common as herons), bysters or bitterns, reys or ruffs, wypes or lapwings (wipa, still the Swedish name), yerns, sea swallow, pheasants, sea gulls, are all specified as frequently ordered for my lord's table. Ibid.

papers, and posts; bad roads; and the necessity of removing beds, wardrobes, and even hangings, on every change which the lord of the mansion might chuse to make from one manor to another, from necessity or from choice. * Nor was it an easy matter to remove. Travelling on horseback was almost the only mode of conveyance for the male sex, and the most frequent method for the females. Coaches were not introduced until some years afterwards †; but a species of horse litter, chair, or charre, was sometimes convenient in processions, or in short journeys, but tedious and troublesome in expeditions of length. The ladies of this period were, however, excellent horsewomen; nor did they disdain the assistance of the pillion, so universally disused and despised by modern dames. ‡ Catharine of Arragon, the day after her marriage to Prince Arthur, was appointed to ride towards Baynard's Castle, either in a litter, or on her spare horse, on a pillion, behind some lord appointed by the king, with eleven ladies following her on their palfreys.

* This was done even in the royal residence. "The king's removing wardrobe" is enumerated in the list of his goodes, "stuffe," &c. See note to *Earl of Northumberland's Household Book.*

† In 1580, by Fitz Alan Earl of Arundel. Ibid. p. 448.

‡ Margaret, queen of James the Fourth, entered the town of Edinburgh behind her husband in the same manner. *Leland's Collectanea.*

Improvements, however, in the comfort of a dwelling-house now became visible: carpets were brought into vogue, and clocks were in common use; glass, that friend to light and cleanliness, supplied the place of lattice and horn in windows, and was becoming abundant; earthenware, though of a coarse kind, began to assert its superiority over wood for culinary purposes; and table cloths, or portpaines, gave some degree of elegance to the domestic board.*

But, in one respect, the reign of Henry the Eighth was indeed an era of luxury. Dress, which will ever be a subject of importance, while the respect which is bestowed on individuals is influenced by external advantages, was at this period a matter of so much moment as to require the interference of the legislature to restrain its excesses, and to define its limits. A sumptuary law against extremes in the fashion of wearing apparel was repealed by Henry early

* Carpets of Turkey, of English making, and of needle-work, bound in buckram, are among the articles enumerated in the king's household stuffe. "Glasse dishes of earthe," and metal dishes are also mentioned. *Harleian M.S.* 2284. In the household of the Earl of Northumberland, "ashen" dishes are specified. An important acquisition to the lower classes, also, was the increased cultivation of wheat, which now began to be used in bread in preference to rye, barley, and oats, mixed sometimes with beans and bran, of which that article was generally composed for the use of servants and the poor. See *Preface to Household Book of the Earl of Northumberland.*

in his reign, and a more moderate regulation substituted. The annulled statute, enacted by Edward the Fourth, had been intended to mark out the distinctions due to those of the blood royal in the appropriation of cloth of gold, and of purple velvet, to their use, under a penalty of twenty pounds upon any one who should invade this privilege. A similar fine was inflicted on all who, being under the degree of a lord, should presume to wear a gown lower than the hips.* The venerable Countess of Richmond, in her "Orders for Precedence," had regulated the modes of female dress, especially in relation to public mournings.† Laws had been previously framed by English monarchs, and even anathemas denounced by the clergy, against immoderate splendour, or absurdity in fashion; yet, notwithstanding all these endeavours to promote the interests of etiquette and consistency, the appearance of a gentleman in the sixteenth century, in the extreme of fashionable attire, presented as much absurdity as could possibly have been collected in one individual. At first, it was difficult to decide which of the sexes was entitled to the obloquy of owning a creature in a long petticoat; a large doublet laced in front over

* Twelve knights were excepted by name from this restriction. See *Acts*, 22 Edw. 4. cap. 1.

† See *Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. i. p. 235.

a stomacher; and a wide sleeved mantle descending in folds to the feet. This ambiguous attire was not, however, of long duration; and early in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the trauses or trouzers were adopted, and the mantle and doublet discarded. In process of time, the monarch became corpulent; and that which was actually a disease, was assumed by his flattering courtiers as a grace. The hair was worn long by the men; until Henry, in imitation of Charles the Fifth of Germany, ordered the heads of his household to be shaved, and set them the example. It was at this period that perukes were introduced*, and that cuffs for the sleeves and frills for the neck became general. The pocket, commodious in every stage of society, was still unknown in its perfection; a loose pouch, suspended from the girdle, occasionally supplied its place.

The dress of females of rank was restrained by limitations of a nature somewhat similar to those which restricted the absurdities of male attire, and was less extravagant. The gown, composed of silk or velvet, was shortened or lengthened according to the rank of the wearer. The countess was obliged by

* "Paid for Saxton, the King's fool, for a wig, 20*s*." is a charge made by the treasurer of the chambers to Henry the Eighth. *Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors.*

the rules of etiquette to have a train both behind and before, which she hung upon her arm, or fastened in her girdle; the baroness and all under her degree were prohibited from assuming that badge of distinction. The matron was distinguished from the unmarried woman by the different mode of their head attire: the hood of the former had recently been superseded by a coif or close bonnet, of which the pictures of Holbein give a representation; while the youthful and the single, with characteristic simplicity, wore the hair braided with knots of ribbon.*

The materials of the dresses at this period were costly; and were sometimes enriched by embroidery, and by the addition of precious stones. Such was the demand for cloths of gold and silver, for velvets and damasks, that three or four thousand pieces of these articles were in one year imported from Italy.† This number may appear trifling in the present day, when such materials of dress are not confined to any particular class or rank of persons, but may be worn by all who can afford to purchase them; but in those times of aristocratic pride, persons of inferior rank were obliged to adhere to a

* *Henry's Hist. Great Britain,* vol. xii. p. 271. — *Andrews' Hist. Great Britain,* vol. i. p. 2. 333.

† *Acts,* 5 of Henry the Eighth.

simple and serviceable garment, made of woollen or of hempen cloth, somewhat resembling the Saxon tunic; and from this picturesque mantle or gown, the frock of the waggoner, still in use in most of the counties of England, is supposed to have been derived.*

Henry the Eighth placed so much importance upon dress, that during his reign the wardrobes of the nobility increased to many times their former value, while his own exceeded in costliness that of any preceding monarch. The manifest advantages resulting to trade, as well as a taste for ostentatious display, may have been the motive of the encouragement which this monarch bestowed upon those who, in this respect, did most honour to his court: and, in an age when the distinctions of mental superiority were less understood or acknowledged than at present, it is not surprising that external advantages should be held in undue estimation.

To the frequent and alluring festivities with which the court was enlivened, may be also attributed the increase of luxury, in other respects, among the nobility. The gay, the gallant, and

* *Henry's Hist. England*, vol. vii. p. 371.

The English have ever been noted for whimsicality of attire; and the frequent change of their garments has been emblematically satirized by the representation of a naked figure, with a pair of shears in his hand, and cloth on his arms, perplexed how to decide amidst a multiplicity of garments. *Andrews' Hist. Gt. Britain.*

the rich, had now a place of resort where they could dissipate time, and display their attractions, accomplishments, and wealth. The queen, in the early days of her marriage, although displaying the characteristic gravity of her nation, was far from evincing any repugnance to those diversions in which the king delighted. She gave, on the contrary, a sanction to them by her presence, which allowed the ladies of the court to enjoy, and, in some measure, to impart, refinement, to scenes in which their fair descendants might deem it improper, and even revolting, to enter.* Let it, however, be remembered, before we condemn too hastily the masculine amusements of the women of the sixteenth century, that the qualities of self-possession, courage, and fortitude, always commendable, and entirely compatible with feminine virtues, were indispensable in unsettled times; and were acquired and improved by familiarity with those diversions which presented the conflicts without the dangers of war.

In splendour and importance, the tournament and the joust must have precedence, in enumerating the sports of this period. To these exercises Henry gave unremitting attention, and not to display proficiency in them, was almost to lose his favour; yet some discretion was also

* See *Hall* and *Holinshed*.

required to rival, but not to excel the king, whose ardent temper could not brook superiority in another; accordingly, how dexterous soever the combatants might be in feats of arms, victory was always reserved for royalty.* Yet, as the king sometimes fought disguised, it is but fair to allow that he was no mean adept in those pursuits for which his bodily powers and continual practice had qualified him. Tournaments, a name which formerly applied to every military combat, consisted of three separate amusements: tilting at the quintain, running at the ring, and jousting or fighting in single combat. The tournament, as a general term, was applied to conflicts in which many persons were engaged at once, divided into parties. The joust was sometimes practised independent of the tournament: and both these modes of combat were carried on either on horseback or on foot, according to circumstances. The barriers, another species of contest in which Henry was skilled, was a battle with axes, in which those engaged, were prevented from coming into close contact by a barrier, breast high, placed between them.† These games had long been the recreation of the noble and valorous, both in England and on the continent; and although they had been repeatedly prohibited by the

* See numerous instances in *Hall* and *Holinshed*.

† *Strutt's Sports and Pastimes*, p. 103—135.

church, on account of the dangerous accidents and bitter contentions which had frequently converted the scene of mirth and enjoyment into a tragedy, long remembered by the sufferers, they continued to be idolized by those who from their wealth could partake of them in a style suitable to their rank*, and by all who aspired to the distinction of superior skill and courage. † The risk of fatal consequences attending tournaments was, in the time of Henry, partly diminished: formerly, "meaning nothing in hate, but all in honour," the combatants, nevertheless, fought with sharp swords and lances, as in battle; and although the number of blows was regulated, and rules laid down to prevent bloodshed, the festivities were often disturbed by the death of one or more of the

* Jousts and tournaments were brought into vogue by King Stephen; and were productive of so much slaughter, from the barbarous manner in which they were sometimes carried on, that parliament decreed that all those who were killed in the encounters should be denied Christian burial, and their heirs disinherited. *Weaver's Funeral Mon.* p. 443.

† They were usually exercised during this reign in the tilt-yard adjoining Saint James's Park, south from Charing Cross. *Stowe's Survey*, p. 495. After Henry had converted Whitehall into a royal palace, he added to it a splendid gallery and gatehouse, whence ladies, and those of the nobility who were not engaged in the lists, could view the tournaments. Ibid.

parties engaged. * In process of time, it was found necessary to introduce arms of courtesy, consisting of lances without heads, and with round braces at the extremity called rockets; the swords were blunted, and every precaution was adopted to prevent injurious consequences. In these combats, nevertheless, bruises were often severe and painful; and the heavy armour, which the rules of the game required, proved occasionally detrimental to the warrior.

Henry had not always the good fortune to escape the dangers to which all who engaged in these sports were equally exposed; and he was sometimes alarmed for the result of the extreme ardour in combat which impelled his young courtiers to use too much violence in this mimic war: accordingly, we often find him hastily closing the amusements of the day, when he perceived that the spirit of emulation began to border upon rancour and hatred. The weapons which the king usually employed were rather different from those which were used in general, as he carried a battle-axe, as well as a two-handed sword; but doubtless these were blunted, as well as the arms of his opponents.

In the splendid tournament which immediately succeeded the coronation of Henry, it was

* See *Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica*, art. Chivalry.

probably considered indecorous that he should take an active part so recently after the death of his father. He was, therefore, at this time, merely a spectator, while the scene of amicable rivalship was performed. Among the most distinguished knights, Charles Brandon was pre-eminent, not only for his personal beauty and the elegance which attended every movement which the various evolutions of the game required, but for his courage, judgment, and skill, qualities which he displayed afterwards on more important occasions. This celebrated man, the son of Sir William Brandon, who, bearing the standard of Henry the Seventh, was slain by Richard the Third at Bosworth field, had been educated in habits of the strictest intimacy with the young king; and always retained his affection and regard. In the constancy of that regard which Henry professed for Brandon, it is agreeable, to those who wish to view human nature under its most favourable aspect, to see an exception to the numerous circumstances which have justly affixed the reproach of caprice to the character of that monarch. Brandon was, however, as cautious and politic in the court as he was enterprizing and courageous in the field; and, while his military exploits secured his reputation for valour, he generally yielded the

palm of victory to his sovereign in the mimic wars of the tournament.

Three sons of the Howard family were also distinguished upon this occasion. The atchievements and merits of Lord Thomas Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, will be unfolded hereafter: at this period of our narrative, he was regarded as one of the most promising warriors, and as one of the most dissolute men at the court of Henry. Sir Edward and Sir Edmund Howard, the one famed for naval exploits, the other less remarkable, but not without celebrity for courage; Sir Thomas Knevet, master of the horse; and Lord Nevile, brother to the Marquis of Dorset, filled up the lists of the combat on one side, and took the field. "The trumpets blew to the field; the fresh, young gallants and noblemen gorgeously apparelled, with curious devices of cuts and of embroideries, as well in their coats as in trappers for their horses; some in gold, some in silver, some in tinsels, and divers others in goldsmith's work; goodly to behold." * Such was the array in which the young knights came forth to combat, assuming the name and devices of the Knights of Pallas. This band was opposed by another, entitled Diana's knights, bearing as their trophy

* *Holinshed*, vol. iii. p. 551.

a golden spear, and professing to be the champions of the fair sex. The attire of both parties was equally fanciful, and suitable to the allegorical character of the whole scene. The knights or *scholars* of Pallas, were clothed in garments of green velvet, carrying a chrystal shield, on which was pourtrayed the goddess Minerva, and had the bases and bards of their horses embroidered with roses and pomegranates of gold; those of Diana were decorated with the bramble bush, displayed in a similar manner. The prize of valour was the chrystal shield. Between the lists, the spectators were amused with a pageant, representing a park enclosed with pales, containing fallow deer, and attended by foresters and huntsmen. This park being moved towards the place where the queen sat, the gates were opened, the deer were let out, pursued by greyhounds, killed, and presented by Diana's champions to the queen and ladies. Thus were they included in the amusement, not only as observers, but as participators: nor were the populace without their share of enjoyments; streams of Rhenish wine and of claret, which flowed from the mouths of animals sculptured in stone and wood, were appropriated to their refreshment. Night closed on the joyous scene; but before its approach the king, perceiving that the ardour of the combatants had become

intemperate and dangerous, wisely limited the number of strokes, closed the tourney, and distributed the prizes. *

It was about this period that the tournament ceased to be merely a chivalric combat; and, united with the pageant, acquired more of the dramatic character. † The pageant consisted of a temporary building, moved on vices, generally representing castles, rocks, mountains, palaces, gardens, or forests. The decoration of these ambulating scenes was attended with considerable expence, but was seldom conducted with taste or consistency. ‡ They generally contained figures, personating a curious medley of nymphs, savages, heathen gods, and Christian saints, giants, and the nine worthies, who descended and danced among the spectators. On the night of the Epiphany, a pageant was introduced into the hall at
1510. Richmond, representing a hill studded with gold and precious stones; and having on its summit a tree of gold, from which hung roses and pomegranates. From the declivity of the hill descended a lady richly attired, who, with the gentlemen, or, as they were then called, children, of honour, danced a morris before the king.

* *Holinshed*, p. 552. † *Mills's Chivalry*, vol. ii. p. 105.

‡ The upper apartments in Leadenhall were generally used for this purpose in the time of Henry the Eighth. *Stowe's Survey of London.*

On another occasion, in the presence of the court, an artificial forest was drawn in by a lion and an antelope, the hides of which were richly embroidered with golden ornaments; the animals were harnessed with chains of gold, and on each sat a fair damsel in gay apparel. In the midst of the forest, which was thus introduced, appeared a gilded tower, at the gates of which stood a youth, holding in his hands a garland of roses, as the prize of valour in a tournament which succeeded the pageant. *

* *Hall's Chronicles*, p. 517.

These devices sometimes conveyed unwelcome significations. Great offence, for instance, was given to Queen Mary by a pageant, in which her father, Henry the Eighth, appeared as one of the nine worthies painted in harness, having a sword in one hand, and a book in the other, on which was inscribed *verbum Dei*. The painter was summoned before the bishop of Winchester, reprimanded, and ordered to erase the inscription. *Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, Introd.* p. 25.

Nature was totally forgotten in most of these contrivances. In the pageant at Chester, was an *animal called a Flower-de-luce*. Ibid.

The materials and charges for these compositions are very amusing. Some of them run thus: "for finding all the materials, with the workmanship of the four great giants, all to be made new, as neere as may be lyke as they were before, at five pounds a giant, the least that can be, and four men to carry them, at two shillings and sixpence each." Also, "arsenick to put into the paste, to save the giants from being eaten by the rats, one shilling." This was in the time of Charles the Second. See *Strutt*, from *MS. Harl.* 2125. *Introd.* p. 25.

The Lord Mayor's show, as it was conducted twenty or thirty years since, the procession of Lady Godiva at Coventry, the woolcombers' procession at Warwick, and other provincial customs, are remains of the ancient pageantry.

Henry delighted to present himself in disguised characters before the queen, who feigned surprise and perturbation at his strange appearance, if she did not really feel them. On one occasion he presented himself unexpectedly in her chamber, with the Earls of Essex and Wiltshire, and other noblemen, in the disguises of Robin Hood and his men; being attired in short coats of Kentish kendall, with hoods and hose of the same, and bearing bows and arrows, swords and bucklers, in imitation of the celebrated outlaws. "Whereat the queen," says the chronicler, "and ladies, and all others there were abashed, as well for the strange sight, as also for their sudden coming, and after certain strange pastimes and dances made, they departed." *

At Shrovetide, which, on account of its preceding a season of mortification, was always a period of festivity in times of Catholicism, the foreign ambassadors and the court were invited to partake of a "goodly banquet" in the parliament chamber at Westminster. The king, after conducting the queen to her throne, and having saluted his visitors, suddenly disappeared, but soon returned, with the Earl of Essex, dressed after the Turkish fashion, followed by the Earl of Wiltshire and Lord

* *Holinshed*, p. 554.

Fitzwater, in the costume of Russia, "with furred hats of graie, each of them having a hatchet in their hands, and boots with pikes turned up." Next came Sir Edward Howard and Sir Thomas Parre, after the fashion of Prussia, followed by torch-bearers with black faces, who were intended to represent Moors. After the mummers had exhibited themselves for some time, they resumed their usual dress, and the banquet was concluded.

Then began the dancing, an amusement in which the proficiency of Henry has been more frequently commended than that of any of our monarchs ;* but on this occasion it was not long graced by his presence. Again he suddenly withdrew himself, and again entered

* The most celebrated dances in the time of Henry the Eighth were the brawl, the pavin or pavan, the measure, and the canary dance. The brawl generally opened a ball ; and was performed by several persons joining hands in a circle, and giving each other continual shakes, the steps changing with the tune. The pavin, from *pavo* a peacock, so called from its resembling the movements of that bird, was a grave and majestic dance, generally performed by gentlemen with a cap and sword, and by ladies in gowns with long trains. The measure, as Shakespeare has described it, was also "full of state and ancientry," and was practised by some of the gravest characters of the time ; this must have resembled in part the minuet. The canary, as its name denotes, was more lively than either of the two former dances. Besides these there were corantoes, jigs, lavoltos, fancies, and galliards. *Drake's Shakespeare, and his Times*, vol. ii. p. 176.

in disguise among a band of gentlemen, attired like them, in suits of blue and crimson, "powdered" with "castles and sheafes of arrows, of fine ducket gold." After this company entered six ladies walking in pairs, and each pair dressed alike: the first after the antique costume; the second as Egyptians, with letters and characters of gold upon their garments; the third and last pair were covered with a sort of black crape, called Lumbardines, which gave them the sombre aspect of Moors. Under this last disguise, however, was concealed one of the most celebrated beauties of her time, the Princess Mary, sister to the king; the Lady Bullen, mother of the celebrated Anne Bullen, is supposed to have been the other.* After the dancing was concluded, the king and the rest of the assembly departed, separating, as was the custom, early in the afternoon.

The king next displayed to the ambassadors his dexterity in the exercise of running, or tilting at the ring. This amusement, which became so fashionable as to be afterwards reduced to a science, consisted in riding at full speed towards the ring, which was suspended from a post, and in thrusting the lance through the ring, which was supported in a sheath, but which might readily be detached by means of the lance,

* *Holinshed*, p. 556.

and borne away on its point. Three courses were allowed to each candidate, and he who struck the lance most frequently through the ring, was considered as the victor.* Henry, being apprised that wagers were laid, and a match formed for two parties in this amusement, offered to be one of the parties, with six companions. The ambassadors, some of whom had never seen the king in armour, expressed a wish to see the trial of skill, and were accordingly invited to be present. The dress of Henry, on this occasion, was so splendid, that the foreigners could with difficulty believe that the ornaments upon his garments were of real gold; upon which he desired them to satisfy their curiosity, by detaching some of the badges and devices on his trappings, which, upon examination, they found to be of pure gold. He was accompanied by a gallant band of young noblemen, all richly clad and well mounted; while their antagonists were also "pleasant to behold, being apparelled in cloth of gold," powdered with roses.† So the courses were began, the king, as usual, excelling all his competitors. Every man ran twelve times, but five times did Henry bear away the ring, and twice did he strike it. The ambassadors declared their satisfaction at this spectacle,

* *Strutt's Sports and Pastimes*, p. 113.

† *Hollinshed*, p. 556.

and doubtless the young and aspiring monarch was gratified by their admiration.*

It is to these diversions that the popularity of Henry, not only in the early part of his reign, but during the course of his life, may probably be attributed. He lived among his people, shared in their pastimes, and was familiar with their ancient and most simple customs. We find him one day displaying the splendour of his court, and the flower of his nobility, before foreign ambassadors; the next, "not willing to be idle, his grace being young," rising early in the morning, to fetch May, or hawthorn boughs, "his grace being richly apparelled," his knights, squires, and gentlemen attending clothed in white satin, his yeomen and guard in white sarcenet: in this manner went every man with his bows and arrows shooting to the wood, and in similar guise repaired again to the court, each person with a green bough in his cap. This observance of the calends of May, now almost obliterated, was then strictly attended by all classes, who decorated the churches and houses with boughs and flowers, gathered from some neighbouring wood. "On May-day, in the morning, every man (except impediment) would walke into the sweete meadowes and greene woodes, there to rejoice his spirits

* *Holinshed*, p. 556.

with the beauty and savour of sweete flowers, and with the harmony of birds, praysing God in their kinde."* The citizens of London were not then, as now, debarred from all rural amusements by the extent of the metropolis: they could readily extricate themselves from the noisome confinement of streets, and enjoy the delights of a May morning, rendered still more exhilarating by the change from tumult to peace, from business, to country enjoyments. In some instances, several parishes united to fetch in their May-poles; and, electing a lord and lady of the May to preside over their games, they passed the remainder of the day in dancing, archery and other pastimes; and when evening closed in, they lighted bonfires, and acted plays.

From Greenwich, which, before Henry became possessed of Hampton Court, was a favourite residence, he removed to Windsor, as the first stage of his progress; and here he passed his time in shooting, dancing, wrestling, casting the bar, and in playing upon the recorders, the virginals, and the flute; in setting songs, and in making ballads: and so great was his proficiency in music, that he composed two entire masses, in five parts, which were frequently used in his

* *Stowe's Survey of London*, p. 80.

chapel and elsewhere.* The king next proceeded to Oaking, where jousts and tournaments were held in honour of his visit; the rest of his progress was passed in hunting, hawking and shooting. On his return to the metropolis, policy, as well as inclination, induced him to attend the mustering of the city guard, which which was then annually assembled on the vigil of Saint John the Baptist.† That day was always appropriated to public rejoicings. Early in the morning the citizens decorated their doors with "green birch, long fennel, orpin, Saint John's-wort, white lilies, and such like, garnished upon with garlands and beautiful flowers;" while at night they illuminated the houses with hundreds of lamps, burning all night, suspended upon branches of iron curiously wrought.‡

* *Hollingshed*, p. 557.

According to Walpole (see *Royal and Noble Authors, Life of Henry the Eighth*) a motet and an anthem, still used in some choirs, one of which, from its want of merit, does not deserve any dispute as to its origin; the other is said to exceed the capacity of a royal musician.

† It was afterwards deemed necessary to forbid this spectacle, on account of the heavy expences attending it. After a discontinuance of some years, it was revived during the reign of Edward the Sixth, in the mayoralty of Sir Thomas Gresham, for one year only. See *Hall* and *Holinshed*.

‡ The custom of leaping over bonfires, practised upon this occasion, not only by young and lively persons, but by the grave and religious, is supposed to have been in allusion to

These signals of approaching festivities were succeeded, on the ensuing day, by the mustering of the watch. Henry had privately visited the city on the evening before, disguised as one of his own guard, probably to enjoy the mirthful scene without the incumbrances of state and pomp; or, perhaps, in order to ascertain, from his own observation, that no scene of riot was likely to ensue in that part of the metropolis, then frequently disturbed by tumults. In the ensuing day, the king and queen went together in state to the King's Head in Cheapside, where they awaited the mustering of the watch. This muster of the civil power consisted of a standing watch, levied from each ward, and of a marching watch to the number of two thousand, formed chiefly of old soldiers; these men were clad in white fustian, bearing the city arms embroidered on their clothes, and were commanded by a regular array of officers. Seven

the ancient ordeal. It must have produced a ludicrous effect. Watches were instituted in England by Henry the Third. *Stowe's Survey of London.*

There were many superstitions connected with Saint John's eve; among others, that the fern seed became visible only on Saint John's eve, and at the precise moment of the birth of the saint. The fern seed was supposed not only to convey the power of invisibility at pleasure, but also to assist in the fabrications of charms, &c. *Drake's Shakespeare and his Times,* vol. i. p. 331.

The nightly vigils on saint's days were enlivened by bonfires, and by tables set with refreshments. *Stowe,* p. 159.

hundred cresset bearers attended the procession, each cresset being carried by one man, and another appointed to attend and supply it with oil. Then followed morrice dancers, each attended by a henchemanᵃ, with a chain of gold around his neck: pageants, the usual accompaniment of processions, were also carried along with the splendid train; next followed the waytes of the city, the officers of the mayor, the mayor on horseback, with his giants and pageants; then the sheriff's watch, with his giants and pageants. A body of constables, two hundred and forty in number, all that the city required in those days, closed the procession.

Henry and his queen were much pleased by this display; and for several years resorted to the King's Head, to view the spectacle.† In the month of October they removed to Greenwich; where the king, desirous of promoting martial exercises among the younger courtiers, caused a place to be prepared in the park for the queen and ladies to see a fight with battle-axes, in

ᵃ The henchemen, or children of honour, were the sons of gentlemen, and walked in all public processions near the person of the monarch. The word is said to be derived from the german word *heins-man*, signifying servant; hence the word hind. Dr. Percy has conjectured it, with little probability, to originate from the custom of standing by the side or haunch of the master. *Lodge's Illustrations of Eng. Hist.* vol. i. p. 358. note.

† See *Hollinshed.*

which he personally engaged, and fought with one Giot, a German, who was a man of great bodily strength, and so formidable an opponent, that he struck Sir Edward Howard to the ground. As the combatants came into closer contact in this species of contest than in the jousts, the king, desirous of effacing any impressions of ill-will between those who fought on this occasion, ordered two hundred marks of gold to be distributed among them, in order that they might conclude their warfare with a banquet. This they did; and after enjoying themselves together at Fishmongers-hall, they went by torch-light to the Tower, where Henry and his queen slept that night, and presented themselves, dressed after the manner of Germany, before the royal pair, who expressed great pleasure at the visit.

Such were some of the amusements with which the first years of this reign were varied. The succession of one pleasure to another was too rapid; and, while it prevented the king from devoting sufficient attention to matters of state, wasted the contents of the royal coffers: but, at the same time, these diversions benefited trade, improved the military strength of the people, and rendered Henry so much beloved among them, that he never lost the hold which he thus acquired upon the affections of his country. Nor had these pastimes the character of dis-

sipation; since they consisted either of rural or athletic sports, and were not indebted for their attraction to the influence of passion, or of sense. They were besides almost invariably sanctioned by the presence of the queen; who, whatever of moroseness and of melancholy may afterwards have been laid to her charge, appears not to have displayed those defects in the early days of her marriage with Henry. Pleasure was not, however, long to retain its ascendancy over business; and the mind of the king soon became occupied by concerns of a serious nature.

CHAP. III.

Dissensions in the Council. — The treasures dissipated. — Fox introduces Wolsey. — Wolsey's early life and character. — The situation of Henry the Eighth with respect to the other monarchs of Europe. — With respect to Scotland. — To France. — To Arragon. — To the Papal See. — Motives for a war with France. — Discussions in the Council. — The king determines to make war upon France in person. — Wolsey appointed victualler. — Parliament summoned. — Death of Julius II. *— Leo* X. *sends a holy bark to England. — Threatens James* IV. *with excommunication. — Henry obtains a poll-tax. — Levying of the troops. — The arms then used. — State of the Navy. — First operations of the fleet. — Death of Sir Edward Howard. — The king beheads John de la Pole. — Jealousy of Henry's temper concerning the succession.*

HENRY the Eighth found the crown of England, at his accession, free from any dread of domestic enemies, and unmolested by hostilities from any foreign power. It was neither likely, from his temper, or from the inclination of his people, that the nation should long continue to enjoy the advantages of that repose, which, after long warfare, had been obtained by the constant endeavours of his father, with

whom it had been a favourite saying, "that when Jesus Christ came into the world, peace was sung; and that when he went out of it, peace was sung also." Consistently with this maxim, it had been the aim of Henry the Seventh to conciliate the several princes of Europe, and to unite their interests, in some measure, with his own.

With France a peace had been concluded in 1498; which Louis the Twelfth, who then reigned over that kingdom, was by no means inclined to infringe, while the affairs of Italy continued to occupy his attention.

We have seen how anxiously the alliance between Spain and England had been sought, and by what means it was preserved, even when death had interfered to dissolve the bond. With Maximilian, Emperor of Germany, an alliance had been effected, by a treaty of marriage between Charles, the grandson of Maximilian, afterwards emperor, and Mary, the youngest daughter of Henry the Seventh, both of them children. The same reason secured, also, the friendship of Margaret, regent of the
1508. Netherlands, the daughter of Maximilian, and the wise guardian of the young Prince Charles. *

* *Lord Herbert*, p. 11.

To James the Fourth of Scotland, Henry the Seventh had given his elder daughter, Margaret, in marriage; trusting by that measure to soothe all animosities which had formerly subsisted between the two kingdoms, and to establish a peace which should only terminate with the existence of those who were connected by this union.* Margaret was not, however, of a character to acquire any influence over the mind of her husband. Imperious and violent, she was removed, when only fifteen years of age, from the protection of a father, to a foreign court, where she was chilled by a cold reception, and dismayed, subsequently, by the obvious neglect of her husband.† The natural partiality of Margaret for her own country availed but little with James the Fourth; and there were points of dispute with England, which, unfor-

* Margaret was affianced in 1500, married in 1508. She was not only unhappy, from the preference of her consort for other women, but unfortunate in losing several children soon after their birth. After her first confinement, her health suffered so much, that her husband, James the Fourth, went a pilgrimage on foot to Saint Ninian's. She afterwards paid a visit also to that shrine. *Holinshed*, p. 457.

† *Ellis's Letters on English History*, vol. i. p. 41. In which there is a letter from Margaret to her father, complaining of neglect and of the haughty conduct of Surrey, who had been deputed to convey her to the Scottish court. She adds, that the "erle was in such favour with the king that he cannott forber the company off hym no tyme off the day."

tunately for that monarch, soon led to open warfare.

The papal chair was filled, during the first years of the reign of Henry the Eighth, by Julius the Second, who entered into the warlike and political affairs of Europe with more ardour than became his sacred office. Intent upon expelling from Italy all foreigners, and especially those of the French nation, he was naturally solicitous to preserve peace with England, and, if possible, to engage her assistance in this undertaking. To entice Henry to accede to his wishes, Julius held out to him, as an inducement, the title of "Head of the League;" and the prospect of adding to that honour the appellation of "Most Christian King," never before conferred upon any of the English monarchs, but long permitted by the popes to the kings of France, from whom it was now in contemplation to remove it. To these motives were added, those devoted sentiments of respect towards the see of Rome, which Henry, at this time, professed and felt; the hope of regaining Brittany from the French; and, probably, not the least powerful argument in favour of war, the ambition experienced by the young and impetuous Henry to distinguish himself in military enterprizes. * These incentives of a personal

1511.

* In conformity with his professed zeal for religion, Henry attributed his measures wholly to his ardour for the honour of

nature, were justified too, by Henry and his ministers, upon the principle of maintaining in Europe that *balance of power* of which he considered England as the arbiter. A league was therefore concluded between Spain, the Pontiff, and England, against France. Maximilian soon afterwards entered into the same confederacy. *

While these foreign negociations were carried on, the council at home was disturbed by the contending interests of two rivals in the regard of the king. Fox, bishop of Winchester, the principal secretary and privy seal, was both able in office, and faithful in his adherence to what he considered as the true interests of his master. As a courtier, he was, however, neither sufficiently pliable in his conduct, nor profuse in his notions of expenditure, to please the king, who, nevertheless, valued his probity, and earnestly desired to retain his services. The Earl of Surrey, lord treasurer, was an adviser of a far more agreeable temper than Fox,

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the papacy. In a letter to Sir David Owen, a Welsh knight, whom the king required to attend him into France with "three score archers, and thirty bills on foot," he expresses himself thus: "that it was according to his duty to God, and to the church; that for God's quarrel, as well as for recovering his own right, he would pursue and continue the said war." *Strype's Memorials*, vol. i. p. 6.

* The agent that Julius employed in securing the alliance of Henry was Bambridge, archbishop of York, whom he rewarded with a cardinal's hat. *Herbert*, p. 17

because he considered more his own security in the royal favour than the real benefit of the state. Fox had beheld and had shared the exertions which Henry the Seventh had used in amassing the treasures which the young king expended on amusements; and, foreseeing future embarrassments from present improvidence, he grieved at every fresh instance of profusion. Surrey had also, during the life of the late monarch, conformed to his notions of rigid economy, and had even extended them to penuriousness; but now the state of affairs was changed, and he knew too well the disposition of the young prince vainly to contend against his desires. Hence frequent quarrels arose between characters so different, and frequently was the mediation of the king required to adjust their disputes. In one thing only they agreed; for some time both were equally solicitous to prevent any other person from obtaining an ascendancy in the favour of Henry; until Fox, at length, perceiving that his influence was rapidly diminishing, determined to employ in his cause the powers of a mind of far superior vigour to his own.

The reign which we are now discussing, was certainly a period in which low birth was scarcely an impediment to the elevation of any aspiring character. The numerous foibles in the disposi-

tion of Henry rendered him almost the sport of any designing man who had skill to penetrate and art to play upon his various humours. Such was Thomas Wolsey, whom Fox now called in aid to his declining power; and whose career is so remarkable an exemplification of the effects of mental power, assisted by causes apparently trifling, that his origin and progress in life deserve the minutest attention and research.

The father of Thomas Wolsey, a burgess of Ipswich, appears to have possessed both the means and the desire of bestowing a good education upon his son. In consequence of the abilities which Wolsey when a boy displayed, he was sent to the university of Oxford at so early a period, that he obtained the appellation of the boy bachelor, not being more than fifteen years of age when he was made bachelor of arts.* He next obtained a fellowship of Magdalen College; and, continuing to reside

* There is some reason to believe that Wolsey's father may have been a butcher, because the sarcasms frequently cast upon him all bore upon the meanness of that occupation. Cavendish describes him as an "honest poore man's son," p. 32. Fiddes discredits the notion of his being a butcher's son, and proves, by the father's will, that he was a man of some opulence. (See *Fiddes Collect.* p. 1.) Lord Herbert, however, speaks of him first as a man of *mean* birth (p. 32,) and afterwards as the son of a butcher (p. 35, *quoted from Polydore Virgil.*)

Wolsey was born, it is said, 1471. Parish registers were not instituted till 1535.

there, he was entrusted with the tuition of the three sons of the Marquis of Dorset. In this capacity he was invited to accompany his pupils home, to partake of the Christmas festivities. On the return of the youths to the paternal roof, they were found to have attained so great a proficiency in their studies, that their father, from gratitude, presented Wolsey with the living of Lymington in Hampshire.*

1500. Here a memorable circumstance occurred; and the future chancellor of England was set in the stocks by Sir Amyas Pawlet, a neighbouring magistrate, upon some offence which is not specified.†

Some time afterwards Wolsey quitted Lymington in order to become chaplain to Dean, archbishop of Canterbury. The death of that prelate threw him back upon his own exertions;

* *Fiddes's Life of Wolsey*, p. 5.

† This degradation was not forgotten by Wolsey; for when the schoolmaster became chancellor, he sent for Mr. Pawlet, and after severely reprimanding him with "many sharp and heinous words," ordered him not to depart out of London without permission. In consequence of this Sir Amyas continued at his house in the Middle Temple, (the Gate House next the street) for five or six years. However, the imprisoned knight employed himself in renewing the outside of his house, which he ornamented with the cardinal's arms and hat, his cognizances, and other devices, by which he thought to appease the chancellor. *Cavendish's Life of Wolsey*, *Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* vol. i. p. 327.

but Fortune, determined upon his elevation, again introduced him to a patron in the
1501. person of Sir John Nafant, then treasurer of Calais, who appointed him his chaplain. Sir John, being very old, was glad to devolve upon Wolsey the whole burden of his office; and the diligence and fidelity which Wolsey displayed obtained a recommendation from Sir John, to Henry the Seventh, who preferred him to be one of his chaplains. In this situation, "having once cast anchor in the port of promotion," Wolsey laid the foundation of his future greatness. He had an opportunity, not only of recommending himself to the favour of his sovereign, but of studying the human mind under the influence of outward splendour, and of the dangerous possession of power: his early life had given him an insight into the passions and motives of men in an humble station: his present intercourse with princes and nobles completed his knowledge of character under a different aspect, and afforded him a clue by which to guide his conduct in the various relations in which he was afterwards placed.

The first endeavour of Wolsey was to ingratiate himself with the confidential advisers of the king, especially with Fox, bishop of Winchester, and with Sir Thomas Lovell, master of the wards, and constable of the Tower, "a

very sage counsellor and a witty man."* By their recommendation, Wolsey was entrusted with the commission of conveying a dispatch from the English monarch to the Emperor Maximilian, concerning a treaty of marriage with Margaret dutchess of Savoy. This affair he managed with so much celerity, that on his return the king reproached him with remissness in not having set out upon his journey; upon which Wolsey presented him with the reply of the emperor, and with his letter of credence. The king, pleased and surprised both with the expedition and the discretion of his new ambassador, appointed Wolsey his almoner, and gave him, also, as a reward for his services, the deanery of Lincoln, then the most valuable church benefice under a bishoprick. But al-
1508. though thus promoted, it is not probable that even the abilities of Wolsey would have elevated him to the distinction which he afterwards attained, had Henry the Seventh continued to reign. Prudent and distrustful, that monarch would never have raised a subject to the degree of power which it became the lot

* *Cavendish — Wordsworth,* vol. i. p. 328.

Wolsey retained both of these friends. Fox, in his last letter, displayed towards Wolsey a degree of friendship which was interrupted, but not destroyed, by court cabals. Lovell left Wolsey in his will "a standing cup of gold, and a hundred marks." Cavendish., edited by Singer, p. 9.

of Wolsey to enjoy. Fortunately for the young statesman, the king died; and Wolsey soon discovered in his son one with whom his own schemes for attaining greatness were much more likely to prosper. It was not long before Wolsey found various opportunities of introducing himself to the favour of the young king, with whom, from his situation of almoner, he was enabled occasionally to confer.* It was at this time that the animosities existing between Fox and the Earl of Surrey, after frequent explosions into open hostility, appeared likely to end in the disgust and mortification of the bishop, and in the triumph of his rival.

The abilities of Wolsey were sufficiently apparent to shew that he might be an effectual ally to either party. Fox, desirous of attaching to his interests a man of consummate address and of insinuating manners, lost no opportunity of introducing him to the observation of the king; and hoping to diminish the ascendancy of Surrey, he procured Wolsey a seat in the privy council. Possessed of this privilege, Wolsey displayed so much eloquence and sagacity, that the king soon manifested a greater degree of attention

* According to Grove, Henry, when only seventeen years of age, was intimately acquainted with Wolsey, and delighted in his society. See *Grove's Life of Wolsey*, p.378. Cavendish, although very minute in his details, does not specify when the influence of Wolsey was first acquired.

to his opinions than to those of graver and more experienced advisers. Wolsey, encouraged by the approbation of the king, took especial care to improve it into a decided regard, by advancing whatever he conceived would be most agreeable to Henry, knowing well the right course to promotion. Perceiving the aversion of his young master to business, Wolsey persuaded him to leave all importunate concerns to his management, and to give up his time to those amusements in which he delighted, assuring the king that no decisions should be passed in the council, but such as he knew to be desired by him. To this apparent complaisance of temper, Wolsey added advantages almost sufficient in themselves to have prepossessed Henry in his favour. He was at that period of life, being at this time thirty-seven years of age, when men have usually acquired experience and caution, without ceasing to possess the more attractive qualities of youth: he had a natural gift of eloquence, guided by discrimination, so that he could adapt his conversation, with singular facility, to the various humours of those with whom he conversed.* Neither was he restrained by any religious scruples from partaking of

* To these advantages Wolsey is said to have added that of a fine person. See *Grove's Life of Wolsey*, p. 370. His pictures represent him as portly, but of an ordinary countenance. Cavendish is silent on this point.

pleasures, which decorum might deem improper in one of his sacred functions. With the gallants of the court, he laughed, sang, and jested; and his house soon became the scene of festivities and splendour.* Yet, amidst the gaieties of polite society, Wolsey forgot not to introduce discussions of such a nature as to impress the king with an opinion of his learning and sagacity; and so successful was he, that he now "began to rule them that before ruled him:" "who was now in high favour but Mr. Almoner? who had all the sute but Mr. Almoner? and who ruled all under the king but Mr. Almoner?"† The influence of Wolsey was thus increasing, when war was declared against France; and Henry, stimulated by a violent ardour for military fame, and flattered by the proposal of Maximilian to enter the English service as a private soldier, determined to invade the neighbouring kingdom in person.

In the mean time a parliament was held, on the fourth of February, when Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, preached on the text, "Righteousness and peace have

1512.

* *Cavendish — Wordsworth*, vol. i. p. 335. The king gave him the house which Empson had possessed at Bridewell, in Fleet street: a residence worthy of a prince, for in the patent twelve gardens and an orchard are mentioned as belonging to it. *Singer's Cavendish*, p. 17.

† *Cavendish's Life of Wolsey*, p. 336.

kissed one another;" a proposition which occupied him an hour and a half to explain, and to declare "how justice should be administered, and peace cherished, and how justice should be laid by, and peace turned into war, which he proved, by instances in the Old and New Testament, to the great edification and comfort of his hearers," who were all, with the king at their head, impatient for war.* On the eighth day of the month, Sir Robert Sheffield, some time recorder of London, was chosen speaker; and the parliament proceeding to business, granted the king a subsidy of two fifteenths from the temporalty, and of two tenths, from the clergy.

The preparations for war were now pushed with increased vigour. The king, disgusted with the artifices of Ferdinand, had resolved to pursue his own schemes in unison with Germany, independent of the treacherous Spaniard, who had vainly endeavoured to entangle one of his generals to assist in his designs upon Navarre, instead of promoting the interests of the alliance. The death of Pope Julius the Second caused no alteration in the views of the papal see. This prince, who died of excessive joy on learning that Italy was completely evacuated by the French, was succeeded by the celebrated Cardinal di Medici, better known as Leo the Tenth, the youngest pontiff that had ascended the

* *Stow's Chronicle*, p. 491.

papal chair, having only attained the age of thirty-seven. One of his first acts was to encourage Henry's designed invasion of France, by dispatching a holy bark, laden with presents, to England. That boat sailing up the Thames with holy triumph, gave to the approaching expedition the air of a crusade, and presented to the young monarch not only indulgencies and Agnus Dei, but the less spiritual gifts of hams, sausages, and of choice wines. * Still more effectually to assure Henry of his regard for the interests of his kingdom, Leo threatened with the penalty of excommunication James the Fourth of Scotland, should he be rash enough to break that treaty with England which had been formed in the preceding reign, and renewed on the accession of Henry the Eighth. Indulgencies also were granted to all who should lend their aid to the confederacy against Lewis. Degrading, indeed, is it to religion, which expresses in one word all that is peaceful, just, and pure, that her holy name should be lent to sanction the vanities and jarring interests of the world, the machinations of priests, and the intriguing policy of statesmen.

James, privately in league with France, and irritated at the capture of some Scottish pirate ships, appeared little intimidated by these pro-

* See *Andrew's Hist. Gt. Britain*, vol. i. Reign of Henry the Eighth.

ceedings, and positively refused an acknowledgment of neutrality. In consequence of this hostile proceeding, Henry dispatched the Earl of Surrey into Yorkshire, with an adequate number of troops, to be in readiness in case of an invasion by the Scots.

As the most effectual means of expediting the levies which were necessary for the war, Henry summoned a Parliament, and obtained a poll-tax, contributed by each individual, according to his degree: a duke was required to pay ten pounds, an earl five, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks, and a proportionate sum was exacted from every individual who had forty shillings in wages. Assisted by these subsidies, for his treasures had been largely disbursed by his home expenditure, Henry proceeded to levy troops for the expedition, and to select the youngest, bravest, and richest of the nobility to attend his military career. These vied with one another in the costliness of their accoutrements and retinues; and long experienced inconveniences from the expences which they incurred. Many of the poorer officers, among whom were men of rank and of ancient families, were obliged to borrow money from the king, in order to make a suitable appearance. Among these necessitous warriors was Charles Brandon,

Nov. 1512.

who afterwards retired in disgust from the court, because Wolsey refused, in the name of his master, to cancel the debt.

As the use of fire-arms had not yet become general, and as the soldiers, therefore, were unaccustomed to wield them, the chief strength of an army consisted in the archers, who were supplied by the nobility on contract. These troops were rendered more efficacious by halberds, which they stuck into the ground as a resource when all their arrows should be expended, and with which they could resist the attacks of cavalry. * Hand-guns, managed like swivels, had been occasionally used, but had proved clumsy and troublesome, and the tremendous cannon was neither generally known, nor in frequent use; war, therefore, happily for mankind, was often impeded in its manœuvres by the deficiency of those desolating agents which now expedite its progress. † The personal bravery of each individual was, therefore, more requisite, and greater than in the present day; but the oppor-

* Muskets were not generally used until 1521, although gunpowder became known in Europe nearly 200 years before that period. See *Lord Herbert*, p. 10, from *du Bellai*. The first mention of gunpowder is in a work of Albertus Magnus, who died in 1280. *Beckman's Hist. of Inventions*, vol. iii. p. 569.

† The first cannon foundry was established in England in 1535. A similar institution had been previously attempted in Scotland. See *Henry's Hist. England.*

tunities which were sometimes afforded of meeting in single combat an object of rivalship or of hatred, while they increased the stimulus of valour, added to it that of private animosity and revenge.

Forces were raised by commissions of array, by which the best troops were selected, and ranked according to their arms and condition. The weapons were appointed by an assize of arms, and the different chieftains, who usually supplied from their own vassals a considerable portion of the army, were denoted by badges and mottoes; nor was it unusual to distinguish among these the retinues of bishops and other dignitaries of the church, who deemed that temporal warfare was allowed to them, as well as the spiritual contests which they were supposed to hold.

Henry did not neglect to strengthen and to improve all the castles and strong holds on the coasts, and to place in them sufficient garrisons for their defence. The garrisons of Calais and of Berwick were amply supplied with the materials for the manufacture of gunpowder, which, in all probability, was usually made by the principal garrisons in England and its territories at this period.* The next care of the king was to increase his naval forces, which, in the course of

* See the *Shrewsbury Papers.* — *Lodge's Illustrations of Hist.* vol. i. p. 3. Also note in p. 3.

his reign, attained much more importance and value than formerly. The discovery of the new world, in the preceding century, had induced Henry the Seventh to build ships of a larger size than had been hitherto considered essential, and to lend them for distant voyages to merchants, when they were not engaged on public service.

Henry the Eighth even exceeded his father in his endeavours to acquire maritime superiority, and the largest ship that had been seen was first used in the war with France; it was called the Regent, in compliment to Queen Katharine, and required eight hundred men as a crew. * His naval operations were, however, at first unsuccessful. The king, anxious to see his navy collected, went to Portsmouth,
1513. and there appointed Sir Thomas Knevet and Sir John Carew captains of the Regent; nominating, at the same time, Sir Charles Brandon and Sir Henry Guilforde captains of another large ship, called the Sovereign. After this, he presided at a magnificent banquet, which he gave to the commanders; and so greatly had his presence and encouragement animated these brave men, that they swore to him and to each other, to "defend, aid, and comfort each other, without failing." The ships of the line amounted to the

* See *Henry's Hist. England*, vol. xii. p. 243.

number of twenty-five, inferior in number, by four, to the enemy; of great burden, however, and well manned and provided.

The first operations of the navy were inauspicious: the Regent having grappled with a large vessel called the Cordelier, off Brest, and nearly subdued the crew, a French gunner set fire to the gunpowder in his own ship, and both these noble gallies were consumed.* On the part of England, the loss was repaired by the construction of the Henry Grace de Dieu, which was immediately begun; while Louis endea-

* The maritime ascendancy of England manifested itself, on this occasion, both in comparison with the navies of France and of Scotland. While Henry was visiting his ships, James was making preparations to send forth the only fleet that Scotland has ever equipped; West, bishop of Ely, who had been dispatched to Edinburgh to make a last attempt to detach James from the French interests, gives an account of the naval forces there, which was calculated to afford Henry considerable satisfaction in his own decided superiority. "I found," says the bishop "at Leyth, none but nine or ten small topmen, amongst whome the ship of Lynne was the byggest, and other small balyngiers and crayers, and never one of thies was rigged to the werr, but one little topman of the burden of thre score. And from thens I went to the new haven, and ther lyeth the Margaret, a ship nigh of the burden of the Cryst of Lynne, and many men workying upon her, some setting on her mayn top, and som calkyng her above water, for under water she was new talowed. Ther was also upon the stocks a litell galley in makyng, about fyfty fote long, as I suppose, which they said the kyng made to rowe up and downe the water to and from Strivilynge." *Ellis's Letters*, vol. i. p. 68.

voured to replace his misfortune by engaging in his maritime service a knight of Rhodes, commonly called Prior John, or Pregeant, who commanded three gallies in the Mediterranean. But Henry experienced a much more vexatious disaster in the course of this year. The brave Sir Edward Howard, lord admiral, succeeded in blocking up the French fleet, with Pregeant at its head, in the harbour of Brest, so that they lay as prisoners in a dungeon, unable to move, or to make any reprisal. Sir Edward, jealous of his sovereign's fame, and imagining that no subject ought to deprive his master of so glorious an enterprize as a victory over the whole French fleet, wrote to the king, requesting that he would take the command of his squadron. The reply of Henry was severe, and implied a reproof for a supposed secession from duty. The admiral, stung with this suspicion, entered the bay in a small rowing boat, boarded the French admiral's ship, and drove the crew before him. Unfortunately the bay was very shallow, and the tide being low, the English vessels were unable to follow, and to assist their commander. It is uncertain whether the cables of his boat were cut, or whether the retreating tide carried it away; but it fell off; and Sir Edward was left in the hands of his enemies. His men beheld him, with the action of a

despairing, but not vanquished hero, snatch from his neck his whistle, then the badge which designated his station, and cast it into the sea: he was borne down by the pikes of the foe, too much incensed to be arrested in their butchery by the valour or by the rank of the victim. His title of admiral was conferred upon his elder brother, Lord Thomas Howard, with an injunction from the king to avenge the death of his brother. Lord Thomas did not disgrace his celebrated name and station; he was successful in repulsing the French from the coast of Sussex, and in clearing the seas of their ships, preparatory to the passage of the king and of the troops to Calais.*

The final proceedings of Henry, previous to quitting his native country, proclaimed how much more he possessed of the jealous and arbitrary spirit of his father, than of the frank and generous temper for which his people at this time gave him credit. Edmund de la Pole, son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, by Elizabeth, sister of Edward the Fourth, had been imprisoned, during many years, by the late king, who dreaded him, partly on account of his relationship to the house of York, and partly from the turbulent and restless spirit which he evinced.

* *Hall.* 4th year of Henry the Eighth, p. 567. *Herbert*, p. 31.

Without any legal cause, this unhappy man had been committed to the Tower; and without any additional reason, except a suspicion of having maintained some correspondence with his brother * Richard de la Pole, who was engaged in the service of France, he was now, by the advice of the council, brought forth, to receive the sentence and punishment of death. This act of tyranny was the first indication of that jealousy of all who could, in any degree, pretend to the crown, which, in succeeding years, proved a source of continual irritation to Henry, and of much bloodshed to his people.

Henry was now impatient to reach the scene of action, although not seconded by any of the other allies, who probably never intended to comply with the engagements they had promised to fulfil, and who rejoiced at their superior address in throwing the burden of the war upon a rich and powerful prince, who had not sufficient cunning in his own nature to perceive the duplicity of others. Leo the Tenth had not the means requisite to second his promises. Ferdinand, who gloried in the perfection of falsehood and dissimulation, until his perverted mind cherished those baleful qualities as if they constituted the blessing instead of the curse

* Rich. de la Pole, commonly called the White Rose, was slain in the battle of Pavia. *Stowe's Chronicles*, p. 492.

of society, was now discovered to have maintained a secret treaty with France for nearly a year, and to have formed it almost on the very day that he had, in another place, signed a league against Lewis. Maximilian, unable to raise forces from his own poverty, could only flatter the pride of Henry with the empty honour of receiving an emperor into his pay as a volunteer. But Henry was not of an age nor a temper to be easily dismayed by these discouraging circumstances. His vanguard, which had reached Calais about the middle of May, had been followed by six thousand men, under the command of Lord Herbert of Gower, an officer of much valour and conduct, who, joining the troops already landed, proceeded to Therouenne, which they invested conjointly on the 22d of July. Here a council of war was held in the tent of Lord Herbert; but during their deliberations a shot from the enemy, which was probably intended for Lord Herbert, killed Lord Carew, who was present. The council were so much dismayed by this occurrence, that they could not resume the subject of consultation; but Lord Herbert, instantly recovering his surprise, said to them—"This is but the chance of war; if it had hit me, you must have been content; a noble heart in war is never afraid of death." This brave example reassured

the officers, and they continued their consultations.*

No accident occurred to retard the departure of the king. The queen had been appointed regent, and was empowered, with the advice of five noblemen, to raise money upon loan, if required; especially if more troops were to be levied. She accompanied the king to Dover castle, where he bade her an affectionate farewell, and whence she beheld him set sail for the shores of France in a superb vessel, the sails of which were of cloth of gold. The words of Henry to Surrey, on their parting, were almost prophetic: "My lords, I trust not the Scots, therefore I pray you be not negligent." Brandon had been retained in order to be near his sovereign, whose intimacy with this youthful friend and with other courtiers, subjected him to frequent imputations of derelictions from royal state and dignity. Wolsey, who was appointed victualler to the army, had to encounter many illiberal sarcasms on the suitableness of his office to his origin: he attended Henry as his almoner †; and, under very different circumstances to those in which he had formerly visited Calais, then an adventurer and thankful for a casual office in the treasury of that city, he approached in triumph the scene of his early probation.

* *Holinshed*, 578. † *Herbert*, p. 35.

The troops, which were transported to France, amounted to eleven thousand. Brandon, lately created Lord Lisle, commanded the vanguard; Henry Bourchier*, Earl of Essex, was lieutenant of the spears; and Sir John Pechie, master of the horse. The king was attended also by the proud and aspiring Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who was followed by six hundred retainers, and whose splendour and pomp almost exceeded that of the monarch. The duke claimed, from his office of constable of England, to march at the right hand of the royal retinue: Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller of the household, took his place on the left side.

The British army was received in the harbour of Calais by so vigorous a discharge from the fort, that the *feu de joie* was said to have been heard at Dover. Those culprits whose offences had merited the punishment of exile, were allowed to return to the English dominions, on the entrance of the king into the town; an act of mercy which seemed inconsistent with the useless devastation which was soon to ensue. Here Henry

* Henry Lovaine and Bourchier, formerly Bowser, of an ancient family, which attained that surname, and also the armorial bearing of an infidel's head, from the victory obtained over a pagan king by one of their ancestors. This Henry Bourchier broke his neck by a fall from his horse in 1539. "His horse was young," says Stowe, "and he the oldest earl in England." *Weaver*, p. 629.

began his military career; and his repose on the night after his landing, was disturbed by the first sounds of war that had ever broken his slumbers, produced by a fruitless attempt of the enemy upon the town, from which they were repulsed by the archers.

On the twenty-first of July, the king and his army quitted Calais, and commenced their march towards the scene of action. The troops were divided into three battalions. In the centre the king advanced, preceded by six hundred Germans; his banner was borne by Sir Henry Guildford; and he was followed by his household servants. The ordnance was placed between the divisions of the army, and consisted of twelve great pieces, which were honoured with the names of the apostles*; besides slings, powder carts, bombs, stones, bows and arrows; and it required the attendance of one thousand nine hundred men, and of thirteen hundred carriages to effect its removal. The rear-guard was composed of the retinues of Bishop Fox and of Wolsey.

After a march which was varied by no incident of any moment, except the loss of some soldiers, who could not sustain the excessive heat of the weather, and of one piece of ordnance from the carelessness of the men, Henry encamped before Therouenne, according to the report of the

* See *Lord Herbert*, p. 36.

chronicler Hall, who was on the spot, "in most warlikewise manner; his camp was environed with artilerie, as fawcones, serpentynes, cast tragbusses, and tryde harrows, spien brystets, and other warlike defence, for the save guarde of the campe." The king and his personal attendants were commodiously lodged in a wooden tenement erected for the occasion, and a range of tents afforded accommodations for the rest of his retinue. *

The city of Therouenne was strongly fortified, and contained, besides its usual inhabitants, a garrison of six hundred cavalry and of two thousand five hundred German auxiliary troops: its walls were well supplied with ordnance, to the frequent discomfiture of the English, who, however, had made considerable progress in the siege before the arrival of the King. The chief obstacle to their proceedings had been the difficulty of obtaining provisions from Calais, without annoyance from the troops of the enemy, who were then commanded by the Duc de Vendosme, captain general of Picardy; but the bravery of the archers, who, headed by Sir Rice ap Thomas, had several smart skirmishes with the foe, had removed all obstruction to the victualling of the army.

The progress of the siege was rendered less

* *Hall*, p. 539.

tedious to Henry by an interview with Maximilian, whose neighbouring residence at Aire afforded an opportunity of a personal acquaintance between the two sovereigns. The appearance and equipage of the English king, on this occasion, were unusually superb ; and the splendour of the Duke of Buckingham reflected additional lustre on his train. The emperor and his attendants were clad in deep mourning for the death of the empress, and the communication was, for the same reason, of short duration. Yet much interesting matter for reflection might be afforded to a discerning spectator, by the different circumstances, characters, talents, and deportment of the two great potentates. Henry, in the bloom of youth and health, was rich, popular at home, and respected in foreign countries ; Maximilian was impoverished and needy from his improvidence and extravagance ; unstable and abject from the consciousness of weakness, and with a constitution which had been debilitated by the effects of sensual indulgence, rather than of age. The English king, confident in his own superior knowledge and accomplishments, and possessing the acknowledged right to the sceptre which he swayed, was "fortunate in interviews, in which he always delighted."* The education of Maximilian had been mean

* *Herbert*, p, 633.

and contracted, a deficiency which he sought in vain to supply by the conversation of the learned; his title to the empire of Germany had never been acknowledged by a considerable portion of Europe, since he had not been crowned by the hands of the pope: in point of fact, therefore, as King of the Romans, he was of inferior rank to his young ally. * To the fine arts, especially to poetry, both these monarchs professed devotion; and perhaps, in this respect, their abilities and advantages were more nearly equal than in other points: the efforts of their muse have alike descended into that oblivion into which posterity has adjudged them. To both fortune had been profuse, but Maximilian knew not how to profit by her favours; and, in his negociations with the other princes of Christendom, had displayed so little address, that the infraction of the treaties he had formed could not have been much more injurious to him than their fulfilment; yet was he accounted a prince expert in war, "very diligent, secret, laborious, courteous, benigne, and replenished with many other excellent gifts and ornaments." †

The interview between Henry and Maximilian was succeeded by the junction of the latter, with

* See *Lord Herbert*, p. 37. Also *Robertson's Charles the Fifth*, vol. ii. p. 61.

† *Guicciardini*, liber 13.

a body of men, to the English army. The emperor received the pay of a private soldier, wore the cross of Saint George, and the red rose, and assumed the station of a volunteer in the British forces *: He was, however, treated by Henry with that delicacy which is a frequent accompaniment to exalted rank, when dignified by discernment and liberality of mind; the imperial soldier was sumptuously lodged in a tent of cloth of gold, and splendidly regaled during the two days that he remained in the camp. Shortly after this interview, a herald from Scotland arrived at the English quarters, and, on being introduced into the presence of Henry, he presented him with a letter from James the Fourth. Henry, after glancing at the contents, broke out into many expressions of indignation against the Scottish king, and bade the herald bear back to him this message: "That the king of England plainly saw that James was not unworthy of his ancestors, who had never observed their promises, except when conformable to inclination. That Scotland, being a province of England, James should soon receive the punishment due to a rebellious vassal; for with God's help the king would, at his return, expel him from that realm." The herald, intimidated

* His pay was a hundred crowns per diem. *Herbert*, p. 38.

by the violence of this reply, entreated that the king would return an answer in writing, and withdrew. Henry then sent for the principal officers of the camp, and read to them the letter of the Scottish king. It contained, principally, complaints of injury done to Scottish vessels; of the encouragement afforded by Henry to one Heron, a traitor; and of the attacks made upon the Duke of Gueldres. But the most aggravating part of this epistle was, in all probability, that which touched upon some jewels, said to have been withheld from Margaret, Queen of Scotland, to whom they had been bequeathed by her father, Henry the Seventh. This injury, which had been a former subject of altercation, was never redressed.* Henry returned an answer to James full of defiance, and the Earl of Surrey received instructions to challenge the Scottish king to battle.

* *Holinshed*, p. 582.

The legacy had been already claimed by Margaret in a letter to Henry the Eighth. See *MS. Cotton. Calig.* b. vi. fol. 74. — Given in *Ellis's Letters on Eng. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 64. Mr. Ellis observes, that although no such legacy is mentioned in the will of Henry the Seventh, as given by Mr. Astle, yet, as it is mentioned in several public documents, there is no doubt but that such a bequest was made; whether supplementary to the will, or by any verbal allotment, does not appear. *Ellis's Letters*, vol. i. p. 64.

Margaret seems, from the above mentioned letter, to have regretted that the legacy was made a pretence for war; and (see another letter from *Dr. West*, p. 74.) to have remained friendly to the English, and to have regretted the part which her husband had taken. Ibid.

Meanwhile the siege of Therouenne was prosecuted with vigour; and a favourable opportunity presenting itself, of a more direct attack upon the enemy in another quarter, a party of the French, after having supplied the town with provisions, were, on their return, completely routed by the English troops. This engagement was called the "battle of Guinegate, or of the Spurs," by the French historians, because their countrymen had used their swords but little, and their spurs chiefly, in the skirmish.* It was soon followed by the capitulation of the town, which was entered by Henry and Maximilian, the English king taking precedence. Therouenne was, nevertheless, ceded to the emperor, on account of its vicinity to his domains, and partly razed to the ground: so that the advantages derived to the English from its surrender were merely of a nominal nature.

Aug. 19, 1513.

Aug. 24.

To the inexperience of Henry, and to his deficiency in a knowledge of the art of war, may be ascribed the obvious errors of this fruitless campaign. After the siege of Therouenne, instead of boldly advancing to Paris at the head of a numerous army, he was induced, probably by the arguments of Maximilian, to proceed to

* See *Mezerai, Hist. of France,* p. 553.

Tournay, a town belonging to the French, on the borders of Flanders, and consequently a source of annoyance to the archduke Charles, grandson to the emperor, and king of the Netherlands. The journey of Henry to Tournay was agreeably interrupted by a visit of a few days at Lisle, where Margaret, Duchess of Savoy and governess of the Netherlands, the daughter of Maximilian, at that time resided. He was received with great pomp by the emperor, by the duchess, and by the Prince Charles of Castile. During this visit, a report prevailed that there had been a design to assassinate the king; but nothing was proved against various persons who were examined on this charge: nevertheless, the army was so much alarmed by the rumour, that, according to the statement of an eye-witness, "they were never merry, tyl they saw the king agayne."*

On returning to the camp, a thick fog occasioned the king and his guard to lose their way; nor could they resolve in which direction to turn, until a victualler who happened to come up at the moment put them in the right direction. So slow, however, was the march of the British troops to Tournay, that they were not stationed before that place until the twenty-second of September.

While Henry was encamped before this city, he

* *Hall.*

received intelligence of the battle of Flodden, in which James the Fourth, with many of his nobility, and about 10,000 of his troops, had fallen.

Sept. 9. The account of this memorable victory was communicated by a letter from Queen Katherine, who had received the intelligence from Lord Howard, at the moment that she was preparing for a pilgrimage to our lady of Walsingham. To the observations which were naturally suggested by the importance of this event, Katherine, in a letter to Wolsey, adds; "This matter is so marvellous, that it seemeth to be of God's doing alone: I trust the king shall remember to thank Him for it." * Her

Sept. 26. affection to Henry shines forth in these letters. She constantly terms him "my husband, my Henry:" and in her letter to Wolsey she begs that the "king will not risk his life too much; and that Wolsey will assure her that he is well." Nor was the mind of Henry so much elated by his success, as to cause him to forget the duty suggested by his queen, at the same time acknowledging the uncertainty of sublunary greatness, on which he made several comments. He likewise manifested the respect which was due to a near connection, and to the

* *Ellis's Letters*, vol. i. p. 90.

The letters published by *Mr. Ellis*, vol. i. p. 88, are very creditable to her disposition.

memory of a gallant though ill-fated monarch, by commanding the Bishop of Rochester to preach before him a funeral sermon, lamenting the catastrophe of James's death; and masses were performed, both at the camp and at Saint Paul's cathedral.* In his conduct to Scotland, Henry displayed even a more generous and magnanimous spirit than in these well-meant, but useless honours. The factions which divided that unhappy country, the youth of the heir apparent, the death of many of the nobility in the recent battle at Flodden, and the regency of his sister during the minority of her son, afforded the King an evident opportunity of obtaining absolute power over the neighbouring kingdom. But Henry was at this time incapable of a base triumph over a fallen enemy; and to the humble intreaty of Queen Margaret for peace, he returned an answer to this effect: "That if the Scots were inclined to peace, he would have peace; if for war, they would find him equally disposed to hostile measures." †

* The disposal of the body of James has been a matter of some dispute. Many of his subjects believed him to have escaped alive to Kelso, whence he resorted to Jerusalem, where he remained till his actual death. Stowe affirms that his head was buried in Saint Michael's, Wood Street. His body is said to have been discovered in the church of the Carthusians at Shene. *Weaver*, p. 304.

† See *Lord Herbert*, p. 49.

Meanwhile the siege of Tournay proceeded; and the English troops were no sooner planted before its walls, than terror was struck into the hearts of the citizens, who, by an old privilege, had the right of defending their own city: and in a few days that town, celebrated in Cæsar's commentaries for a valiant resistance to the Romans, ingloriously surrendered to the English, and without bloodshed Henry was permitted to take quiet possession of its citadel.

20th. The inhabitants were so much ashamed of their pusillanimous conduct, that during the prohibition issued in the market-place, in the name of the King of England and France, against such as should in any way molest the vanquished, none of the inhabitants could raise their heads.* The king, who had risked his person in the siege, after rewarding several of his officers with the order of knighthood, and appointing Sir Edward Poynings governor of Tournay, occupied the remainder of his stay at this place in entertaining the Princess Margaret of Savoy, and the Prince of Castile, with tilting and banqueting. In these diversions, doubly agreeable after the hardships

* In this expedition died, of an illness incurred in the march, Sir George Manners, father of the first Earl of Rutland. *Weaver*, p. 428.

of war, Charles Brandon, now Lord Lisle, was as usual distinguished, and received many indications of favour from the Princess Margaret. Henry, far from objecting to so splendid an union for his favourite, would have been inclined to second a scheme of that nature; but the ambition of Brandon, if not his affections, had a different object. The Princess Mary, the youngest sister of the king, had for some time cherished an attachment for Brandon; and it is probable, since in the opinion of a French moralist, "no person can completely conceal a sincere and ardent passion,*" that some suspicion of Mary's partiality may have influenced Brandon; for the match seems to have been dropped, and that evidently not from any disinclination on the part of the Dutchess of Savoy. A contract of marriage, which had been formed in the preceding reign, between Mary and the Prince of Castile, might, however, appear to present a formidable obstacle to the hopes of the lovers. This engagement had been discussed by Henry and Charles at Tournay, and a promise made on the part of England that the princess should be sent over to Flanders in the ensuing spring; but the scheme was never put into execution. The Flemish referring to Ferdinand

* *De la Rochefoucault.*

for an approval of the match, that monarch evinced a determination to unite his grandson Charles to a princess of Spain or Portugal. Meanwhile the winter approached; and as no operations could be carried on during that season, the king began to look impatiently towards home; and hastening to Calais, he there took shipping, which was in readiness, had a favourable passage to Dover, and proceeded to Richmond, where Katharine awaited him, and "where," says Hall, "was such a lovyng metyng that every one rejoised."

It has been remarked as a curious circumstance, that, in Queen Katharine's regency, the most complete triumph which the English ever obtained over Scotland was acquired. Her government, however, though memorable from this event, had not been entirely free from domestic disturbances; but these being of a short duration, and proceeding chiefly from a local cause, do not form any important feature in the annals of this year. The cause of the affray was this: the towns of Islington, Hoxton, Shoreditch, and others, began to extend from the neighbourhood to the very walls of the city. The youths of the metropolis, having been accustomed to hold their pastimes in the neighbouring fields, were indignant on seeing enclosures daily encroaching upon the open spaces allotted for their

diversions: they assembled in a body; a turner in a fool's coat ran along the streets, crying out shovels and spades, and the hedges and ditches were speedily demolished. The king's council summoned the mayor of the city to Grey Friars, and reproved him for his quiet endurance of this disturbance; but, on his expostulation in behalf of the citizens and their privileges, he was merely dismissed, and the meadows were allowed to remain uninclosed.

The generals who had distinguished themselves in the wars with Scotland and France were not forgotten by the king; he had first written them letters full of commendations and thanks; and on the day of the Purification, he distributed honours, then rare and important, to his valiant servants. The Earl of Surrey was created Duke of Norfolk, a title which had been conferred on his father by Richard the Third, but which had been extinguished; and he was permitted to bear the arms of Scotland; Sir Charles Brandon, who had recently been raised to the peerage, under the title of Lord Lisle, was advanced to the dukedom of Suffolk; the lord admiral, Lord Thomas Howard, was made Earl of Surrey; and Lord Herbert, the Chamberlain, Earl of Worcester. On another day Sir Edward Stanley was created Lord Mounteagle; and, in the following March,

Thomas Wolsey was appointed to the bishopric of Tournay.

Henry had declared his intention of again pursuing hostilities in France in person, when the season should permit; but his return to England proved to be the termination of this unprofitable contest. Probably he began to perceive that his allies, and not himself, had chiefly reaped the benefit of his conquests; and the expences of the war were found to be burdensome to many of the principal nobility. Wolsey, on whom the bishopric of Tournay had been conferred, was satisfied that he had gained his share of the fruits of the French invasion, and possibly took no means to dissuade the king from peace. On the other hand, Louis was little disposed to continue hostile measures, by which a considerable portion of his territories had been ravaged, and two principal towns captured. Induced by the reiterated intreaties of his wife, Anne of Brittany, Louis had already consented to a reconciliation with the pope, even when his affairs in Italy promised him success: and the death of his queen * now afforded an opportunity of cementing any alliance with England which he might form. A treaty of marriage with the Princess Mary was promptly entered upon, and

* She died a few months after her champion and professed admirer, James the Fourth of Scotland.

concluded; and this young and beautiful woman was destined, by her union with a man three times her age, to be the offering which should propitiate the spirit of discord.

The first endeavours which the King of France made towards a reconciliation with England, were aided by the knowledge which he possessed of the treachery of Ferdinand, who was already in treaty with France, and of the wavering and selfish policy of Maximilian, whose levies were to be retarded in the ensuing campaign by his daughter, the Princess Margaret, because the emperor had other designs in view. Louis also represented that the youth of the Castilian prince rendered him an inefficient ally to Henry, and an unsuitable consort to his sister; but when he made proposals of marriage to the fair Mary, he was not so explicit concerning his own age.* Mortified by discovering how completely he had been duped, Henry concluded a treaty with Louis, in the usual terms, for the period of their joint lives, and one year after; and the union of his sister with Louis was one of the principal articles of peace. On the part of England it was agreed to restore the Duc de Longueville, and other prisoners of war, who had been taken in the late campaign; and Louis

Aug. 7, 1514.

* *Mezerai, Hist. France*, p. 554.

conciliated the suspicious temper of Henry by sending Richard de la Pole out of his kingdom, but refused to give up this persecuted man to the English. The friendship between England and France was soon afterwards confirmed by one of the most disproportionate marriages, in respect to age and constitution, that was ever made: Louis was fifty-two years of age, and was diseased, infirm, and tottering towards the brink of the grave. Mary was reputed to be one of the finest and most accomplished women of her time, and had not yet attained her seventeenth year: but, whatever her inclinations may have been, she was obliged to yield to the will of her brother, and to the interests of the state. In disposition there was a greater degree of similarity; and the conjugal attachment of Louis to his first wife augured well for his conduct to her successor. "When Anne of Brittany died," says a French historian, "her husband loved her so entirely, that his heart bowed under this affliction; he put on black for mourning, shut himself up for several days in his closet, and turned out all the fiddlers, comedians, jugglers, and buffoons from the court.*" The cheerful and easy temper of the French king presented some mitigation to the disparity of years; and the superiority of his

* See *Mezerai*, p. 554. *Hall.*

character, both in wisdom and goodness, might afford some consolation to Mary for this unequal union.* Whatever were her feelings on the occasion, the match was completed; and the young princess, having plighted her faith to the Duc de Longueville, as the proxy of Louis, and having sent also her commission for the same ceremony to be performed in France, prepared for her departure from England. Her dowry was considerable; but in the marriage articles a clause was introduced, by the caution of Wolsey, that in case of the death of the French king, she, and the money which she took with her, should be returned.† The young princess was also provided with a quantity of valuable plate, and with robes of great costliness. Henry and his queen accompanied Mary to Dover, where she was some time detained by tempestuous weather: the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surry, the Marquis of Dorset, the Bishop of Durham, and several nobles of inferior rank, knights and gentlemen, among

* Louis was so benevolent towards his people, that when forced to lay subsidies upon them, he was often observed to have tears in his eyes; and when he contemplated in prospect the prodigality of Francis I. his heir, he said, sighing; "Alas! this great boy will spoil all!" *Mezerai*, p. 555.

† 60,000 crowns per annum were settled upon her by Louis, in the event of her becoming a widow. *Lord Herbert*, p. 53.

whom were Sir Thomas Bullen, father of Anne Bullen, were deputed to attend the bride elect to France. The king took an affectionate farewell of his sister, recommending her to the protection of God, and to the guidance of her husband. After a tempestuous voyage, she landed near Boulogne, where, after some difficulty in entering the harbour, she was received by the Duc de Vendosme * ; thence she proceeded to Abbeville. At a short distance from that town, she was met by Louis, who was desirous of privately conversing with her, and of observing, undisturbed by pomp and publicity, whether her personal charms merited the reputation which they had obtained. This interview inspired Louis with the most passionate admiration of his young queen. The heir apparent of Louis, Francis de Valois, afterwards Francis the First, was deputed to welcome Mary into Abbeville, where the marriage ceremony was performed: every species of honour was shewn to her, and nothing that could add splendour to her nuptials was omitted. Yet little regard was paid to the actual comfort of the young queen; for on the day following her union with Louis,

Oct. 2.

* In this passage the great ship called the Rebeck was lost with four hundred of her company. *Stowe's Chronicle*, p. 497.

all her English attendants, with few exceptions, were discharged, and she was surrounded with foreign domestics. The distress of her former servants was great; many of them had given up advantageous situations at home; "some died by the way returning, some fell mad, but there was no remedy." * The English lords were also for the most part dismissed, after receiving ample rewards for their care of the queen: but soon afterwards, the Duc d'Angoulesme, having proclaimed a solemn jousting at Paris, to be held in honour of the approaching coronation of Mary, several of the young English nobility craved permission of their king to return to Paris. Amongst these was the Duke of Suffolk; and few historical narratives describe situations of greater interest than that of the blooming Mary, destined to relinquish an attachment so wholly justified by the merit of the individual as that which she cherished for Brandon, yet tantalized by the continued display of those accomplishments which had probably first engaged her fancy. Nor was Brandon the only individual who envied the infirm Louis the beautiful prize which so ill assorted with his age and condition; and it was suspected by wary spectators, that Francis de Valois was not unmoved by her attractions.

The nuptial festivities were conducted with

* *Holinshed*, p. 604.

a degree of magnificence unsuitable to the infirmities of the bridegroom, but which presented Mary in all the lustre that splendour can add to beauty. After being crowned at
Nov. 5. Saint Denis, the dauphin holding the massive crown over her head lest its weight should prove inconvenient, the queen entered Paris in an open chariot, covered with cloth of gold; her head and person were resplendent with jewels; and on the former she wore a coronet of pearls. She was attended by the principal nobility of the realm, and by several of the English peers, among whom was Brandon. On the following day the tournaments began; and the spectators beheld with commiseration, by the side of the young queen, the feeble Louis extended on a couch, where he was obliged to recline during the fatigues of the day; while Mary was so placed that all "men might see and wonder at her beauty." In the tilting, the English nobles displayed so much adroitness as to excite the jealousy of the French, and especially of the dauphin. On the ensuing day, Francis introduced a German, purposely to humble the Duke of Suffolk, who had manifested great prowess: but the duke made the German stagger and recede; and the judges, fearful of consequences, let fall the barrier between them. After they had finished with the spears, they

commenced fighting at the barriers; and the duke, who saw that the German was set on purposely to attack him, took him by the neck, and "pommelled" him on the head so severely, that they were again parted by the judges. * The Marquis of Dorset, who was scarcely inferior to Brandon in chivalric ardour, and who had fought bravely the day before, was almost subdued by a Frenchman.

After the tournament was finished, the English noblemen returned to their native land; and Mary was once more left amongst foreigners, with the exception of a few chosen female attendants †: among these were a sister of the Marquis of Dorset, and Anne Bullen, then very young, who had followed in the train of the queen. Mary was not, however, long obliged to restrain her passion for Brandon. The

1515. death of Louis, which occurred on the first day of the year, about three months

* *Holinshed.*

† She wrote to Henry complaining of this usage, and especially of the privation of a person whom she calls her "mother Guldeford," probably mother of the maids of honour. *Ellis's Letters*, vol. i. p. 116. It also appears that Dame Jane Guldeforde, widow of Sir Richard Guldeforde, was pensioned by Henry the Eighth, in 1514, on account of her faithful services to his father and mother, to his sisters, and to himself. This stipend, which was given with much parade, amounted only to 20*l.* per annum, worth 30*l.* in the present day. *Anderson's, Hist. Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 24.

after his marriage, enabled her to comply with her secret inclinations. Henry, on being apprised of the decease of his brother-in-law, sent commissioners into France to treat concerning a renewal of the peace. Francis the First, who succeeded Louis, was far from opposing the truce, which he had every inclination to continue: he was, in fact, sedulous in courting the good-will of Henry; and, for this purpose, he began diligently to cultivate the favour of Wolsey. But the death of Louis, although producing no immediate and visible alteration in the affairs of Europe, was an event of infinite importance to two individuals, whose story might aptly form the subject of romance. The Duke of Suffolk was one of the ambassadors from England, and carried to the widowed queen of France letters and intelligence of her absent friends. This opportunity of regaining that happiness which had been blighted by the ambition of statesmen, was not disregarded, and Mary, after a courtship of four days, was privately married to Suffolk *: she quickly re-

* Mary was advised by Wolsey, immediately after the death of Louis, not to promise herself in marriage; to which injunction she replies, "My lord, I trust the king my brother and you woll not retien me in sooche chyldhood." *Ellis's Letters*, vol. i. p. 121.

In another letter she speaks of displeasure expressed towards

vealed the secret to Francis, whose mediation with her brother she earnestly requested and obtained, although he affirmed that he had destined her, in his own mind, as a wife for the Duke of Savoy. To Henry she wrote, taking on herself all the blame of this precipitate step, towards which she declared, that she had made the first advances; and announcing, that she had resolved rather than again to unite herself with any man except the object of her affection, to retire into a convent.* Henry, after some expressions of displeasure, consented to sanction their marriage with his approbation; and he was probably induced to act thus from the opinion of Wolsey who represented that it was far more advantageous to England to receive back, as the wife of one of her nobles, the beautiful queen and her rich dower, than to bestow her on some French prince.† Nevertheless, the public opinion on

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her and the duke on account of their marriage, and throws herself upon the king's clemency, p. 123.

It is uncertain whether Henry actually disapproved the marriage or not. Polydore Virgil hints that he had destined her to Brandon before her marriage with Louis. *Herbert*, 48.

* This appears from an original letter mentioned by *Lord Herbert*, p. 54.

† She brought all her jewels, and the plate and tapestries of Louis, to the value of 200,000 crowns. *Herbert*, p. 55. Among others a jewel called le Miroir de Naples, of great value.

the expediency of this match varied considerably; and notwithstanding the popularity of the duke, who, for "his wit and demeanour was in favour both with the prince and people," it was generally thought that the interests of England would have been better consulted, had she been wedded to the Prince of Castile, for whom she had been formerly destined. They lived, however, happily together until the death of the princess. Three children, a son and two daughters, were the offspring of this union.*

The return of the Duke and Dutchess of Suffolk to England was welcomed with festivities, in which, as heretofore, the king and Charles Brandon performed a distinguished part. On the first of May, the king and queen, with a train of lords and ladies, rode to Shooter's hill, from their favourite palace at Greenwich, to take the air; and here the archers of the royal guard, aware of Henry's taste for whatever could give to his diversions an air of fanciful romance, had attired themselves in the disguise of foresters, and addressing the king, the chief, who personated Robin Hood, requested him to see his men shoot: the king consented,

* Henry, created Earl of Lincoln; Frances, married first to Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, and afterwards meanly to Adrian Stokes; Eleanor, married to the Earl of Northumberland.

and a display of archery succeeded; but the novelty by which the spectators were most amused, was an ingenious contrivance by which the arrows whistled as they flew. The foresters then begged that the royal party would "enter the green wood, and see how outlaws lived:" on this, Henry, turning towards his queen, demanded whether she and her damsels would venture into the thicket with so many outlaws: the queen declaring that "if he would, she was content," the horns blew, and they proceeded until they were arrived at a rustic arbour formed of green boughs, with apartments adjoining, constructed of branches, and so skilfully made as to call forth the commendations of the guests. Here was served a repast of venison and wine; and the party, greatly amused by this adventure, returned towards Greenwich. But the frolic did not terminate here; for, as they approached home, a chariot advanced, drawn by five horses, and on every horse sat a lady, with her assumed name inscribed on the trappings. "On the first courser, called Cande, sat Humidité or Humide; on the second courser, called Memeon, sat the lady Virtue; on the third, called Phaeton, sat the lady Vegetive; on the fourth, called Rimphon, sat the lady Pleasaunce; on the fifth, called Lampace, sat Swete Odour; and in the chayre sat the lady

May, accompanyed with lady Flora, richly appareled, and they saluted the king with divers goodlye songs, and so brought hym to Grenewyche. At this Maeyng, was a great numbre of people, to beholde, to their great solace and comfort." The amusements of the day were closed by horse-racing, in which the king, the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Dorset, and the Earl of Essex engaged, riding on great coursers. They afterwards adjourned to a sumptuous banquet.*

* *Hall.* Sixth year of Henry the Eighth.

CHAP. IV.

Religious affairs. — Case of Hunne. — The Lollards. — Copy of the Bible in English. — Persecutions of heretics. — Rapid elevation of Wolsey. — His insolence to Warham, who retires. — Wolsey, as chancellor, unpopular. — Obtains the legacy. — His mode of living. — State. — Household. — His manner of going to the Court of Chancery. — His administration of justice. — Manners. — Entertainments at York House. — Jealousy of the old courtiers. — Their retirement from Court. — Regretted by Henry. — 1515 – 1516.

So ardent and so entire was the devotion to the see of Rome which Henry manifested during the first nineteen years of his reign, that had he died at that period, he could scarcely, according to Burnet, "have escaped being canonized:" * yet, notwithstanding this profound veneration for the church, the early part of this reign, although unmarked by any of those innovations which afterwards gave it so much importance, was neither undisturbed by contentions between the laity and the clergy, nor free from the effects of intolerance.

1515.

* *Burnet, Hist. Reform.* vol. i. p. 19.

Religion, connected with practical morality, was the last subject which entered into the contemplation of the majority of the clergy in the sixteenth century. It is not, indeed, surprising, that laxity of principle should have prevailed among divines, when the sum of religious duties was made to consist, "principally in the three essencial vowes, obedience, wilfull povertie, and chastitie; for these three," according to an orthodox writer of the day, "were to be considered the substanciall parts of religion." The laity were not, it appears, entitled, either by faith or conduct, to claim the merit of devotion, which was denominated "a state appertaynynge unto monkes and solitarie persons, which state is now only called religion." * These errors resulted from the ill-directed studies of those who were intended to enlighten and to correct mankind. While the study of scholastic philosophy continued to engross the attention of the learned, metaphysical discussions were considered far more important than the simple, yet essential, doctrines of Christianity, which were neglected for interminable controversies on mystical and abstruse points. Nor did the mischief end here; the Aristotelian philosophy, long rejected by the church as tending to

* *Whyteford's Pype of Perfection*, printed in 1532. See note in *Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* vol. i. p. 9.

atheism, had been at length received as a part of the orthodox system, chiefly from the arguments of Thomas Aquinas, a celebrated metaphysician of the middle ages. Imperfectly understood, but yet implicitly believed by churchmen, its tendency was unfavourable to natural religion; while long scholastic disputations, on points which could never be resolved, increased the danger of scepticism.* While the taste for mystical disquisitions was at its height, scriptural knowledge was confined to a few members of the clergy; outward ceremonies became the objects of religious zeal, and abstruse mysteries the standard of religious faith. Hence immorality and licentiousness, cupidity, pride and ambition, were the characteristics of the clergy; and never, in the resorts of the gay or the dissipated, has vice flourished with such impunity as in the retirement of the professed devotee of the period in question. But although the light, which eventually revealed all the corruptions of the church, had already begun to dawn, the jealousy of the

* Hence the various sects of Nominalists, Sabellians, Realists, &c. The word, and the definition of transubstantiation, originated from the scholastic writers. Equally puzzling and absurd were the disputes between Aquinas and Duns Scotus, respecting free-will, and which were afterwards taken up by the Dominicans and Franciscans; and the discussions upon angels, their modes of operation, means of conversing, and the difference between the morning and evening state of their understandings. See *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 537.

laity was, as yet, excited more by the immunities and privileges of the clergy, than by their irregularities in conduct, or defects of doctrine. Just cause of complaint was, indeed, afforded by the impunity with which a churchman might violate those laws which are essential for the peace of society. It was no uncommon occurrence for a man to receive orders after having committed the greatest crimes, nor could he be questioned about any offence after his admission, until he had been first degraded; in which case he became the prisoner of the bishop. Both Henry the Seventh and his son had perceived the evil consequences of these exemptions, and had endeavoured, by sundry acts of parliament, to diminish the latitude of conduct which they afforded to the priests. Henry the Seventh had wisely endeavoured to subject them to some degree of temporal restraint, by enacting that all convicted clerks should be burnt in the hand. His successor had improved upon this regulation, by an act denying the benefit of clergy to all murderers and robbers, 1512. and thereby rendering secular persons liable to be hanged for such offences.* But this act, although modified in the house of lords, so as to exempt all bishops, priests, and deacons from this salutary law, yet gave great

* See Acts, 4th year of Henry the Eighth, cap. ii.

offence to the clergy, who apprehended that the encroachment upon their immunities would not be confined to the lower orders of churchmen, and opposed, therefore, a most determined resistance to this innovation. They made the pulpit a vehicle of complaint.

The abbot of Winchelcomb argued the matter vehemently at Paul's Cross, and maintained that the act was contrary to the law of God and to the holy liberties of the church.* The temporal lords, roused by this fierce attack, entreated a hearing of the argument before the king, whom they petitioned to repress the growing insolence of the clergy: Henry was somewhat embarrassed in which way to proceed. His zeal for the church was excessive; a regard for its interests had been carefully inculcated on his mind by education, and the evident favour of the Romish see towards him had deepened that impression. He allowed, however, a discussion of this subject in his presence between the abbot of Winchelcomb
1513. and Doctor Standish, one of his chief spiritual advisers, guardian of the mendicant friars in London, and afterwards bishop of Saint Asaph: the controversy was not concluded, when an event occurred which gave

* See *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 23.

occasion to another point of discussion, bearing upon a similar subject.

A citizen named Richard Hunne, having lost an infant by death in his house, was sued by the curate of the parish for the burying sheet of the child, which he claimed as a mortuary or compensation for tithes left unpaid at the decease of any person. Hunne refused to give up the shroud, and was cited to appear in the spiritual court; but having secured good counsel, he sued the curate in a præmunire, for bringing him into a foreign court instead of the common law courts. Fitzjames, then bishop of London, and Doctor Horsey his chancellor, indignant at this reprisal, accused Hunne of heresy, and caused him to be imprisoned in the Lollard's tower. In this dungeon he was one morning found dead hanging by a silken girdle, which being loose round his neck, induced a suspicion as to the cause of his death. On examination it was apparent, that his neck had been broken with an iron chain, the skin being marked by an instrument of that nature; and from various other marks upon the body, it was too evident that his decease had not been the effect of his own hands.

Such, however, was the exercise of justice in the usage of the clergy, that the body was tried for heresy; and several articles from the preface

to Wickliffe's Bible, which was found in his possession, were charged against him; and, to conclude the farce, the mangled remains of the poor man were adjudged to be burned at Smithfield. To the disgrace of the church, the Bishops of Lincoln and Durham and many doctors of divinity and of the common law, sat with the Bishop of London on this case, so that the sentence was considered as the unanimous act of the clergy. The indignation of the people was excessive, and the city was never afterwards well affected to the priests.* The inquest, which had sat on the body of Hunne, pronounced him to be murdered; and the crime had been clearly traced to the bishop's sumner, the bell-ringer, and to Doctor Horsey, the chancellor. Great efforts were made to stop the trial of these men, which was immediately commenced; but even the authority of Wolsey, which was exerted to that effect, availed nothing. A bill was first passed in the House of Commons, for restoring Hunne's family to their goods and estate, which had the royal assent: and another was then introduced touching the murder, which occasioned violent contentions. The convocation of the clergy, perceiving the blow which was thus aimed at their privileges, summoned Doctor Standish before them. The tem-

* *Burnet's Hist. Ref.*

poral lords and judges thereupon appealed to the king to maintain his jurisdiction, and to defend Standish from his enemies. * The king, in great perplexity, had recourse to Doctor Veysey, dean of his chapel, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter, whose opinion favoured the argument of Doctor Standish in agreeing to the propriety of clerks being convened before secular judges. After a long discussion on this topic, and a decision by the judges in favour of the two doctors, the Cardinal publicly, and on his knees entreated the king, at an assembly of the lords spiritual and temporal at Baynard's Castle, to refer the matter to the pope: in this supplication he was seconded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Bishop of Winchester, and by the majority of the clergy: But Henry, supported by the opinion of the judges, replied in these terms: "That the kings of England in time past had no superior save God alone; that he was resolved to maintain the rights of his crown, as his predecessors had done: that the decrees of the spirituality were not conformed to by many of its members; and that he was determined to preserve
1514. the same independence with regard to them as his progenitors had done." Nor did he condescend to reply to the reiterated

* See *Hall*, who gives a detailed account of this trial.

instances of Warham, in favour of an appeal to the see of Rome. That prelate for some time concealed Horsey in his house, against the warrants which were issued on the decision of the judges; and, afterwards, the culprit was screened from punishment by the intercession of Wolsey, who represented to the king the certainty of a verdict being found against Horsey, and the danger of irritating the clergy, by the execution of temporal justice upon one of their order. In consequence of this request, the attorney general was commanded to allow Horsey's plea of not guilty, so that the criminal was dismissed; but quitting London, he could never return thither either "for fear or shame."* Doctor Standish was also unjustly dismissed from the court of convocation.

This occurrence contributed, not a little, to withdraw from the real motives of the clergy that veil which implicit reverence for the church of Rome had thrown around their proceedings; but, although to preach against the indifference of the clergy to their duties, and to expose their love of luxury and display, had for some time been agreeable to the ears of many of the people, this country, at the accession of Henry the Eighth, was more entirely devoted to the papal authority than at any former or subsequent

* See *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 32.

period. It may seem that the anxiety of the king to secure his own prerogative was inconsistent with his professed attachment to the court of Rome; and, in fact, it was a proof of his ardent desire to maintain supremacy in all things; for no prince ever manifested, in other respects, a more superstitious reverence for the church. He was violent against heretics, and sanctioned the persecutions of the wretched Lollards, which were conducted with unrelenting fury during the primacy of Warham, and until a more enlightened mode of thinking arrested the arm of vengeance.* This sect, which may be regarded as the parent of the reformers, originated in the fourteenth century, from the doctrines of the celebrated John Wickliffe, who preached against the errors of the church, and rendered the Bible intelligible to the laity, by translating it into the vulgar tongue; nor had successive scenes of bloodshed quenched that enthusiastic zeal for the tenets of

* Lollard, derived by some from *lolium*, signifying *cockle* (or rather *darnel*), *Lolium temulentum*, the only poisonous plant of the grass tribe; because as that weed is a great damage to the wheat among which it grows, "so the Lollards," their enemies said, "corrupted and spoiled the well-meaning faithful among whom they were conversant." Others derive the name from one Walter Lollard, a German, a teacher of similar tenets. Most probably we may trace it to Lullard, or Lollard, the praises of God, a sect in Brabant so named. See note in *Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog.* vol. i. p. 71.

the founder which still appeared in his disciples. The opinions of Wickliffe were soon propagated in every part of the kingdom, and his proselytes became so numerous as to be compared to "suckers growing out of the root of a tree:" it was even said, "that you could not meet two people in the way, but one of them was a disciple of Wickliffe." Burning, the orthodox punishment of heretics, was not, however, inflicted upon the Lollards, until the reign of Henry the Fourth, who granted a law, empowering the clergy to sentence, and sheriffs and other civil officers to commit heretics to the flames, without a writ from the king. Accordingly these victims of an intolerant church were tied to the stake, and burned with such scraps of Wickliffe's translation of the Bible tied around their necks as were found about their persons. * After the conspiracy of Sir John Oldcastle, which had been attributed to the Lollards, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, all officers of state, judges, justices, and peace officers of every degree, were sworn to exert their endeavours to suppress these schismatics; the most active

* It has been contended that Wickliffe was not the first translator of the Bible, and that he did not understand Hebrew; but having collected such Latin Bibles as he could, made one entire copy, and then translated. He was, at least, the first who translated the whole together. See *Gilpin's Life of Wickliffe*, from note in *Wordsworth's Biograph.* vol. i. p. 103.

measures were, therefore, pursued against them, and the slightest expression of opinion of religious matters, was construed into an offence against the church. These proceedings were not likely to succeed, nor did they avail, in extirpating heresy.

If the vengeance of bigotry had been mitigated by charity, the clergy would have acted with more policy as well as with more humanity; their severity published that evidence of their vices, and of the corruptions of their doctrine, which otherwise might for a time have been silenced, and disseminated the opinions of the innovators. Many of the unhappy accused persisted in their opinions to the last breath, and their constancy in the midst of acute anguish, though it did not soften the rigour of their merciless judges, convinced spectators that their professions had resulted from sound conviction. It is true that some abjured their faith, and accepted the ignominious alternative of life with shame, but the allowance due to human weakness in this last trial of fortitude, induced men to pity, rather than to condemn.

It was in vain that the clergy endeavoured to suppress that copy of the Scriptures which had thus in part disclosed the means of obtaining knowledge dangerous to their authority, of the true acceptation of religious truths, and which

they deemed as too precious a "jewel" to be bestowed on the "laity, and even on women."* The reformers diligently sought this treasure, and when it could not be obtained entire, were thankful for transcripts from the sacred volume. Hence the doctrines of the Lollards, being derived from the same source as those of the Lutherans, and nursed by persecution which, while it stifled for a time any public professions of the new opinions, increased a secret belief of their truth, had paved the way for the reception of that more steady and permanent light which afterwards broke through the gloom of superstition.

In the years 1509, 1511, and, with little intermission, until 1529, repeated instances of cruelty and bloodshed, too numerous and horrid to be detailed, begot and nourished a general hatred of those who were the promoters of so much wretchedness. In the prelacy of Archbishop Warham, various instances of persecution occur. One poor woman having maintained that "it was better to give alms at home to poor people, than to go on pilgrimages; that images were but stocks and stones; that the sacrament was but bread; and that Christ could not be both in heaven and on earth," was threatened with death, but escaped by abjuring these well-founded opinions. Sometimes the heretics were forced to

* See *Gilpin's Life of Wickliffe.*

do penance by bearing the badge of a faggot in flames on their clothes, as a public confession that they deserved burning. Another female, Agnes Grevill, was indicted for heretical opinions, and her husband and two sons brought as witnesses against her. One man, Stephen Castiline, having had influence enough to draw several persons over to his opinions, was considered as too dangerous a person to be left at large, and was, therefore, sentenced to a kind of perpetual imprisonment in the precincts of the monastery of Leeds, in Kent. In case he ventured more than a mile from the place of his confinement, he was to be treated as a relapsed heretic: another part of his penance was to carry a faggot to the parish church every Sunday; and to these punishments, sufficiently mortifying in themselves, he was to add the mortification of spare diet.*

Not a single pardon, without abjuration, is recorded in those accounts of the persecutions of this period which are extant. The clergy, to excite the hatred of the people against their victims, failed not to accuse them of denying some essential points of faith allowed by all Christians, as well as of schism from the established church. The instruction of children in the creed, the Lord's prayer, or the ten

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 2. *Burnet,* vol. iii. p. 53.

commandments, was thought sufficient proof of presumptuous inquiry into the merits of received opinions to deserve punishment; and when the alarm of the church was heightened by the intelligence of Luther's bold defiance of its power, several persons were brought to the stake at Coventry, merely for the offence above stated.

Such were the proceedings in religious affairs from the accession of Henry until the propagation of the Lutheran doctrines. Meanwhile Henry evinced his partiality towards churchmen by a succession of honours heaped upon the proud yet sapient Wolsey, which raised him to a height of favour whence he looked contemptuously upon the instruments of his elevation. He had been, as is already stated, preferred to the bishopric of Tournay on the surrender of that city to the English; and having banished thence the French bishop, in order that his pretensions to the see might not interfere with his own, he took possession of the revenues, and exercised there almost a princely government. His diligent attention to business rendered him, however, a popular ruler. The respectful manner in which every complaint from the king's foreign possessions was referred to him, prove his ability and willingness to serve the interests

1515.

of his diocese. So abject, indeed, was the style of these foreign dispatches to him, that they were usually addressed "To my lord cardinal's grace, and the privy council:" thus designating him as possessing a superior rank to that body.* In the same year that he was elected to the bishopric of Tournay, the bishopric of Lincoln, having become vacant, was conferred upon him. On receiving this preferment, he is said to have enriched it by sequestering some portion of his predecessor's goods, with which William Cavendish, who lived in his service, declares that he had seen part of his house furnished. Strange that such bounty of fortune should not satisfy the mind of this aspiring man, and that he should have demeaned himself so far as to violate the principles of justice and of honesty! The archbishopric of York was also, in the course of the same month, conferred upon Wolsey, in consequence of the death of Archbishop Bembridge, the English ambassador at Rome, who died there, as it was supposed, from the effects of poison.† This new dignity, which made the third bishopric bestowed on Wolsey in one year, com-

* See *Strype's Memorials*, vol. i. p. 172.

† This prelate was thought to have been poisoned by his steward, whom he struck in a fit of passion. He died July 1514.

pletely banished all the little portion of humility that he had ever possessed. Determined to gain the complete ascendancy in ecclesiastical affairs, he insolently took every opportunity of advancing the cross of York before that of Canterbury, even in the precincts of that diocese.* Warham, indignant at this assumption of superiority, failed not to reprove him for it; but Wolsey was not to be awed into humility: conscious, however, of the weakness of his claim to precedence, he sedulously endeavoured to obtain from Rome a cardinal's hat, which was shortly afterwards willingly presented to him by Leo the Tenth, anxious to gratify the rising favourite of the English king. This insignia of his holy office he caused to be carried before him, as an idol to be worshipped; and when it entered the king's chapel, he would not suffer it to be placed any where but on the altar. This honour was quickly succeeded by one still more important. Warham, disgusted with the evident neglect which he experienced, and oppressed with the infirmities of age, declared himself incapable of supporting the fatigues of his office, and repeated a request which he had before made, to retire to his episcopal duties: his resignation was at

Nov. 1515.

* This point had been before contested in the reign of Edward the Third. See *Wordsworth, note*, vol. i. p. 342.

length accepted, and the seals were transferred to Wolsey, who at first, either from pretended humility or from real reluctance to undertake so arduous an office, declined the honour; but was afterwards induced to retract his refusal.* The first proceedings of the new chancellor were arbitrary. During the session of parliament the act of the preceding year, respecting apparel, had been amended; the dress of temporal men of every estate had been regulated, and forfeitures assigned for the violations of the act. This statute had been repealed and another substituted: these frequent alterations evince the degree of importance which was attached by the despotic Henry to this subject; and Wolsey proved an active coadjutor in executing these imperious decrees. He sent commissioners immediately into the different counties, in order to enforce the statute of apparel, and also the regulations enacted at the same parliament concerning the wages of labourers, the hours at which they were to begin their work, and the time of their meals and repose.† Sometimes, not satisfied with the rigorous fulfilment of the laws merely by means of deputies, he took the enaction of the statutes into his own

* *Lingard's Hist.* vol. vi. p. 57.

† See Acts 6th year of Henry the Eighth, cap. i. and iii. Also 7th year of Henry the Eighth, cap. v. and vi.

hands. Observing an aged gentleman, named Simon Feby Prichard, in an old crimson velvet jacket adorned with various broaches, a dress which, probably, the rank of the individual did not authorize him to wear, he took it from him with his own hands; an unnecessary and impolitic exertion of authority, which gained the chancellor much odium. The commissioners were allowed to exercise so great a degree of tyranny, that a poor man was actually set in the pillory by one Slymjug, the mayor of Rochester, for no greater offence than that of wearing a *ryven* shirt. These, and other instances of oppressive injustice and despotism in trifles, ought, undoubtedly, to have a beneficial effect on the minds of those who are dissatisfied with the legislature in our own comparatively happy days.

But though the active measures which Wolsey adopted to enforce the laws were generally unpopular, they were, in many instances, both necessary and beneficial. It was an unpleasant, but yet a faithful, discharge of his duty, to call all those to account who had the distribution of the public money in any official situation during the late war. In this investigation, many persons endeavoured to save themselves from rendering a correct statement by bribery; some were found greatly in arrears, and several, not

guilty of any fraud, suffered for the dishonesty of others. Perceiving that the abuses of the courts of law resulted in a great measure from the frequency of false oaths, Wolsey punished perjury by affixing badges, with so much rigour, that instances of that offence gradually diminished during his chancellorship: he likewise repressed tumults, which were not then uncommon even among the higher classes; and every individual, from the nobleman to the peasant, alike experienced the effects of his vigilance.

In order to expedite the administration of justice, Wolsey established several new courts, to examine into the complaints of the poor by bill. One of these courts was held by Dr. Stokesley, almoner to the king, a man of more learning than discretion; the others sat in Whitehall, in the Rolls' chamber, and in the treasurer's room behind the star chamber. These courts soon fell into disrepute, from the delays and other inconveniences attendant upon them.

The greatness of Wolsey now seemed to have attained its climax, and the pride and ostentation of his nature kept pace with the unprecedented rapidity of his rise to power. In order more completely to humble the Archbishop of Canterbury, he resolved to obtain from the Pope the ex-

ercise of the legatine authority in England, and this dignity was bestowed on him in the course of the year following that in which he had received the rank of Cardinal. Upon hearing that the messenger appointed to convey to him the hat and the papal bulls was of low condition, he dispatched a number of his own retinue in costly array, to meet the courier, and commanded a body of priests and gentlemen to await the arrival of the hat on Blackheath, and to conduct it to Westminster Abbey, where the honour of Cardinal was confirmed to Wolsey, in the presence of most of the metropolitan clergy. Wolsey now assumed an inordinate degree of haughtiness in his deportment, especially towards the mortified and dejected Warham, who, having ventured to subscribe himself, in a letter to the Cardinal, "your loving brother, Canterbury," was sharply rebuked by his brother of York for presuming to address as an equal, one who, as legate, had the power to summon him and the whole body of clergy to convocation. The pomp which Wolsey maintained from this time, until his decline in the favour of Henry, affords so much cause of wonder at his indiscretion in braving the jealous hatred of the nobles, who looked upon his lowly origin with aristocratic contempt, and is so unparalleled a display of luxury, that some ac-

count of his mode of living will not be found uninteresting or unimportant.

In his office of legate, the Cardinal deemed it necessary, according to the account of his faithful servant Cavendish, "to the advancing of his legatine jurisdiction and honours, to have masters of his faculties, masters ceremoniarum, and such other like persons, to the glorifying of his dignity."* He had also two large crosses of silver, one of his legacy, the other of his archbishoprick, which were borne before him whenever he went abroad, by two of the tallest priests that he could procure. A number of young lords and gentlemen esteemed it a piece of good fortune to be continually in attendance upon the cardinal; and, as he preferred those yeomen who were tall and portly for his service, happy did that nobleman consider himself who could present him with a domestic possessed of these advantages. The household of this great man was conducted on a scale of expence and magnificence exceeding that of the king. In the hall of his mansion he had three different boards; the treasurer, steward, and comptroller's table: he had also a cofferer, who was a doctor, and attendant marshals and grooms for these departments. In the hall

* *Cavendish*, p. 347. According to *Fiddes*, Wolsey was made legate in 1516.

kitchen were also numerous officers; there were two clerks, a clerk comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, and a clerk of the spicery, who maintained a continual repast in the hall. To these are to be added, master cooks, labourers, children of the kitchen, yeomen of the scullery, yeomen of the pastry, and pastellers under the yeomen. Then in his privy kitchen was a master cook, who went daily in velvet or satin, with a chain of gold round his neck, so honourable was the office of administering to his grace's palate; and in the several departments of the larder, the scalding house, the saulcery, the buttery, the cellar, the chaundery, the wafery, the wardrobe of beds, the laundery, the bake-house, the wood yard, the barn, and the garden, were yeomen and grooms sufficient, according to the notions of modern times, to carry on culinary and domestic operations for a barrack. The rest of the establishment corresponded to the kitchen. The Cardinal had a master of his horse, a clerk of the stable, a yeoman of the same, a saddler, a furrier, a yeoman of his chariot, a sumpter man, a yeoman of his stirrup, a muleteer, sixteen grooms of the stable, every one of them keeping four geldings; besides a yeoman of the barge, porters, and grooms of the gate, and a yeoman and groom of the almosnery.

The chapel was suitable in splendour to the

house, and in the superabundance of its servants. First, there was a dean, "a great divine and a man of excellent learning; a sub-dean; a repeater of the choir; a gospeller; a pistoller; of singing priests ten; a master of the children." The seculars of the chapel, singing men, were twelve in number; ten singing children, with a servant to attend upon them; and there were likewise grooms of the revestry, or vestry; cross and pillar bearers; besides different retainers, who came there at principal feasts. The furniture of the sacred edifice corresponded in grandeur to the whole; and the rich jewels, crosses, candlesticks, and ornaments were so numerous, that the minute biographer declares, that "it passes his capacity" to enumerate them: he specifies, however, forty-four very rich copes, which he had seen about the hall during processions; while Dukes and Earls were required by the proud prelate, when at mass, to present to him the bason at the lavatory. * Thus was the service of God a means of displaying the pride and luxury of man!

In his private apartments, if they could be so called, the haughty chancellor had a chamberlain, and a vice-chamberlain, besides lords and gentlemen ushers, most of whom were men of rank, and who were allowed two men to attend upon them.†

* *Lord Herbert.*

† Except the Earl of Derby, who was allowed five attendants. *Cavendish*, p. 348.

Then he had cup-bearers, carvers, sewers, and gentlemen daily waiters to the number of forty; he had six yeomen ushers, eight grooms of his chamber, forty-five yeomen of his chamber; and there were also pensioners on his bounty attending upon his board at dinner. Besides the divines of his chapel, there were sixteen daily in attendance upon the Cardinal. To complete the list, more curious than amusing, the Cardinal had his two secretaries, his two clerks of the signet, and four counsellors learned in the law; the number of domestics amounting, altogether, to eight hundred, among whom were nine or ten lords, fifteen knights, and forty esquires. *

Among the young nobles who waited upon the Cardinal, and who daily sat at his mess of lords, for they were not admitted to his own table, were the sons of several distinguished families, who, in compliance with an ancient custom, were frequently sent to the house of some eminent ecclesiastic, with the name of page, but probably more for the purpose of education, than for maintenance.†

* *Cavendish*, p. 349. Appendix in *Fiddes's Life of Wolsey*, p. 7. *Fiddes*, p. 107.

† In this way Sir Thomas More was educated under Archbishop Morton, of whom he has given a very interesting character in his Utopia. See *Wordsworth*, vol. ii. p. 249.

This custom was continued down to the reign of Charles the First. Ibid.

To support the enormous expences of such an establishment, the revenues of Wolsey, with the presents and pensions that he received from foreign powers, and his preferments, which were numerous and extremely lucrative, were computed to exceed those of the crown. Besides the dignities which have been already specified, he had the Bishopric of Durham, and in commendam the abbey of St. Alban's, although he did not enter upon the temporalties of that benefice until 1521; and he derived considerable revenues from the Bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford; the incumbents of these were foreigners, who having been sent to England in legations, had been rewarded by Henry the Seventh with church preferment for various services which they had rendered to the state, that parsimonious prince avoiding, by this means, the necessity of conferring pecuniary gifts. Wolsey at sundry times obtained the revenues of these Bishoprics upon some easy remuneration to the diocesans, who considered it more secure to receive a small sum annually from their English sees, than to trust agents to transmit their revenues, of which they might be defrauded.* It is true that upon the restitution of Tournay to the French, Wolsey was obliged to

* See *Fiddes's Life of Wolsey*, p. 109.

relinquish his preferment in that city; but for this sacrifice he received an ample equivalent in money. *

It might be thought that the acquisition of honours so unbounded, and of wealth so ample, might reasonably satisfy the wishes of a man of low origin, who could not, in the early part of his life, have aspired to more than the respectable but obscure station of a parish priest. The same spirit, however, which impelled Wolsey to seek, and which had enabled him to attain the eminent station which he now held, still prompted him to direct his views and exertions to the most exalted rank that could be acquired, and to fix a steadfast gaze of hope upon the papal crown. His ambition was as boundless as his pride was insatiable. The pomp and state with which Wolsey deemed it expedient to perform his diurnal duties as the chancellor of England, have, however, been unjustly adduced as evidence of his arrogance and ostentation; for in this respect his conduct was not unprecedented. Previous to quitting his dwelling house, the Cardinal usually heard two masses, and his notions respecting the observance of all divine rites were so rigid, that, on the authority of one of his chaplains, he is said

* *Lord Herbert.*

never to have retired to bed, notwithstanding any exertion he might have undergone during the day, with any part of the service, even a collect, omitted in his prayers; a circumstance which probably exalted him much in general estimation at that age, when indefatigable supplication was considered as acceptable and necessary. After his religious duties were performed, Wolsey usually set forth about eight in the morning, and his appearance and procession are thus described by one who was a frequent eye-witness of his grandeur: "His upper garment was of either fine scarlet, or taffety, but most commonly of fine crimson satin engrained *; his pillion of fine scarlet, with a neck set in the inner side with blacke velvet, and a tippet of sables about his neck; holding in his hand an orange, whereof

* Wolsey was accused of introducing an extravagant mode of dress among the clergy, who never, it is said, before his time wore silk or velvet, yet it appears that they were as costly in their apparel as the laymen. Piers Plowman (who wrote in the time of Henry the Sixth) ridicules their modes, and enjoins them thus: —

"Make schorter your taylis, and brodyr your crownys;
"Leve your schort stuffide dowbelettes, and your pleytid
"gowneys,
"And kepe your own howsyng, and passe not your
"boundys.

Strutt's Manners and Customs, vol. iii. p. 79.

the meat or substance within was taken out, and filled up again with the part of a spunge, wherein was vinegar and other confections against the pestilent airs; the which he most commonly held to his nose when he came among any presse, or else that he was pestered with any suiters. And before him was borne first the broad seale of England, and his Cardinal's hat by a lord or some gentleman of worship, right solemnely. And as soon as he was entered into his chamber of presence, where there was dayly attending upon him, as well noble men of this realme, and other worthy gentlemen, as gentlemen of his own family, his two great crosses were there attending to be borne before him; then cried the gentlemen ushers, going before him, bare-headed, and said, 'On before my lordes and masters, on before, and make way for my lorde cardinall.' Thus went he down through the hall with a serjeaunt of armes before him, bearing a great mace of silver, and two gentlemen carrying of two great pillars of silver; and when he came to the hall door, there his mule stood, trapped all in crimson velvet, with a saddle of the same, and gilt stirrups. Then there was attending upon him, when he was mounted, his two crosse bearers, and his pillar bearers, in like case, upon two great horses trapped all

in fine scarlet.* Then marched he forward, with a traine of noble men and gentlemen, having each his footemen, fower in number about him, bearing each of them a gilt polleaxe in his hands; and thus passed he forthe until he came to Westminster Hall doore. And there he alighted, and went after this manner up into the chauncery, or into the star chamber; howbeit most commonly he would goe into the chauncery, and stay awhile at the barre, made for him, beneathe the chauncery, on the right hand, and there commune sometimes with the judges, and sometimes with other persons; and that done, he would repair into the chauncery, sitting there till eleven of the clock, hearing of suits and determining of other matters." †

* The cross was usually carried before the prelates on holidays and solemn occasions. *Strutt's Manners and Customs*, vol. iii. p. 21. It was not probably displayed so frequently as Wolsey caused it to be. This degree of pomp, like most of Wolsey's arrangements, was attributed to pride and insolence; but it was not unprecedented. *Anstis's Letter to Dr. Fiddes. Fiddes's Wolsey*, p. 89. Shelton, the poet laureate, satirized the Cardinal, and was obliged to take refuge in the sanctuary of Westminster, to screen him from the consequences of his temerity. He was also the subject of invective from the pulpit; Dr Barnes, who was afterwards burned at Smithfield in 1541, preached upon the Cardinal's luxury and parade at Cambridge, and was called to account by Wolsey. *Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog.* p. 353. 356. vol. 1.

† See *Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.*

In the administration of justice, Wolsey has been allowed the merit, from all accounts, of having exercised his functions with impartiality; and of having inclined a willing ear to the interests of the poor and lowly, in preference to those of the great and powerful. The possession of those admirable qualities, justice and sincerity, have been accounted for in Wolsey by the following reason: "that as he loved nobody, so his reason carried him;" but they may with greater probability be attributed to the liberal views which he entertained on every subject, and which evinced to him the narrowness and short-sightedness of that policy which consists in duplicity.

The beneficial effects of the wise and rigid conduct of Wolsey as a judge were speedily experienced by the people: robbers, highwaymen, and vagrants became so few in number, that the nation was not more free, to use an expression of Erasmus, "of poison and noxious wild beasts than of harmful men."* Lawsuits, which had long occupied the courts during the time of his predecessors, were speedily concluded, and equitably adjusted; his very ignorance of the law might, in some instances, render his decisions more agreeable to our common notions

* *Strype's Memorials*, vol i. p. 193.

of justice, while his natural penetration, aided by his knowledge of mankind, enabled this great, though unpopular, legislator, quickly to discern false from true evidence, and to select the most equitable and expedient mode of judging a case.* "It was strange to see the Cardinal," says Holinshed, "(a man not skilled in the laws), sit in the seat of judgement and pronounce the law, being aided at first by such as (according to the ancient custome) did sit as associate with him: but he would not stick to determine sundrie causes, neither rightlie decided, nor adjudged by order of law. And againe, such as were cleare cases, he would sometimes prohibit the same to passe, call them into judgement, frame an order in controversies, and punish such as came with untrue surmises afore the judges, and sharply reprove the negligence of the judges themselves which had received such surmises, and not well considered

* Yet, since it is impossible to satisfy every person, the dilatoriness of Wolsey was sometimes the subject of complaint; and Sir Thomas Alen, steward to the Earl of Shrewsbury, having some suit with the Cardinal, remarks with bitterness, "that he that shall be a sutor to hym, may have no oder besynes but giff attendance on his pleasure;" and adds, "he that shall do so, is nede to be a wiser man than I am." See *Lodges's Illustrations of Hist.* vol. i. p. 28. *Shrewsbury Papers.*

of the controversies of the parties."* It is admirable to observe, that while meditating those profound schemes for the improvement of that country over which he was daily attaining a more complete dominion, and of which he was becoming the master rather than the subject, Wolsey had leisure and versatility sufficient to render himself a perfect courtier, and to make his residence the seat of elegance, luxury, refinement, and learning. Although he manifested overbearing insolence in his actions, yet the manners of the Cardinal were courteous, and even kind; and he had a discriminating mode of commending those who were in the king's employ, which greatly conciliated their favour. He selected those young companions of the king who were disposed to be friendly towards him, and playfully extorted from them a vow of fidelity to himself and of mutual assistance. With the ladies of the court he was equally assiduous: "whosoever of them was great, with her he was familiar,

* *Holinshed*, p. 615.

Such, according to Polydore Vergil, was the administration of Wolsey at *first*, being a mere "colour of justice," which was soon laid aside when he perceived the entire ascendancy which he had gained over the king. It must be remembered that Polydore was an enemy whom Wolsey, for some misdemeanor, had imprisoned. *Holinshed*, though by no means partial to Wolsey, *Herbert*, *Fiddes*, *Strype*, *Cavendish*, concur in their testimony to the Cardinal's justice.

and gave her gifts.* So fascinating was his conversation, and so absolute was his power over the affections of Henry, that it was even reported he had bewitched the king with necromancy.† The intellectual advantages which Wolsey possessed were set forth to great advantage by a commanding person, and by natural dignity of aspect and manner, which, improved by intercourse with society of the first order, both in rank and in intellect, gave him an ascendancy even among monarchs. A graceful delivery completed this masterpiece of art and nature; who was inferred, from all these lofty attributes, to be "some prince's bastard, and not a butcher's son."‡ It may be readily supposed that a man so shrewd and penetrating as the Cardinal would not fail, by flattering the taste of his young master, to increase, or rather to secure, the influence that he possessed. Banquets, masques, and mummeries were prepared at the palace of Wolsey, with such ingenuity and splendour, that we are informed "it was a heaven to behold." §

* See *Strype's Memorials*, from the *Practice of Prelacy*, vol. i. p. 189.

† *Fiddes — Grove's Wolsey*, vol. i. p. 378. *Cavendish.*

‡ Hence the popular distich,

"Great priest, whatever was thy sire by kind,
Wolsey of Ipswich ne'er begot thy mind!"

§ *Cavendish*, p. 357.

Whitehall, then called York House, the general residence of the Cardinal, became the favourite scene of the court revels. "I have seen," says Cavendish, "the king come suddenly thither in a maske, with a dozen maskers, all in garments like shepardes; and before his entering into the hall, ye shall understande that he came by water to the watergate, without any noise, where were laide divers chambers and gunnes charged with shot, and at his landing they were shot off, which made such a rumble in the ayre, that it was like thunder. It made all the noblemen, gentlemen, ladies and gentlewomen, muse what it should mean, coming so sodainly, they sitting quiet at solemn banquet. Then immediately after this great shot of guns, the Cardinal desired the lord chamberlain and the controller to look what it should mean, as though he knew nothing of the matter: they, looking out of the windows into the Thames, returned again, and shewed him that it seemed they were noblemen and strangers coming as ambassadors from some forraigne prince. 'With that,' quoth the Cardinal, 'I desire you, because you can speak Frenche, to take the pains to goe into the hall, there to receive them according to their estates, to conduct them to this chamber, where they shall see us, and all these noble personages, being merry at our banquett, desiring them to sit

down with us, and take a part of our fare." The party on entering were announced by the chamberlain, as foreigners who had come to view the fair dames assembled in the banquet, to join them in a game at mumchance*, and afterwards to dance with them, and "to have of their acquaintance." When these diversions were finished, Wolsey, who knew that the king was among the disguised strangers, desired the chamberlain to inform them, that he was aware that there was a nobleman among them, who was infinitely more entitled to the seat of honour than he was; and to whom he would gladly surrender that distinction, if he knew to which of the visitors it was due. The maskers returned a message by the chamberlain, confessing that the surmise of the Cardinal was true, and challenging him to guess who was the noble personage to whom the place of honour belonged: "with that the cardinal taking a good advisement of among them, at the last quoth he, "Me seemeth the gentleman with the black bearde should be even he." And rising from his chaire, he offered it to the same gentleman in the blacke bearde, with his cap in his hand. The person to whom he gave his chair, was Sir Edward Neville, a comely knight of a goodly per-

* Mumchance, a game of hazard with dice. *Warton, Hist. Eng. Poet.* vol. i. p. 155.

sonage, that much more resembled the king's person in that maske, than any other. The king, hearing and perceiving the Cardinal so deceived in his estimacion and choice, could not forbear laughing, but pulled down his vizor and Mr. Neville's also, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and cheare, that all the noble estates there assembled, perceiving the kinge to be there among them, rejoiced very much." A new banquet consisting "of two hundred dishes of wonderous costly devises and subtleties was served up, and the night was passed in banquetting and dancing, and other triumphant devices, to the great comforte of the kinge and pleasant regarde of the nobility there assembled."

The enemies of Wolsey have calumniated him in asserting that there was more grossness or immorality in the entertainments of his house than in those which were, at that period, customary in all courts; amusements which can be considered as detrimental to the reputation of a monarch, only when they divert his attention from pursuits of greater importance. There appears to have been so little irregularity, at this period, in the conduct of Henry, that the society and example of Wolsey, although the Cardinal was avowedly a man addicted to profligate pleasures, could not, in a great degree, have

contaminated the morals of his sovereign. It may be observed, that the decline of Wolsey in the favour of the king occurred at the time when Henry's passions induced him to repudiate an amiable woman, and a faithful consort; and it will be seen, that most of what is commendable in the character of Henry was displayed while he was under the influence of Wolsey. If we except the birth of one natural child, Henry left no stain on his conjugal fidelity; and although his subsequent life does not tend to inspire us with admiration for the generosity or delicacy of his behaviour to the fair sex, yet, in the height of youth, he was even rigid in imposing the marriage tie upon his domestics*, and strict in his own observance of his duties†, if we measure his conduct by that standard of morality by which princes, in common candour, must be judged. It might easily be foreseen that the former counsellors and favourites of the king would perceive and resent the influence of that individual whose unparalleled address was rapidly undermining the foundation of their favour.

* An instance of the king's interference in this respect is given in Lodge's Illustrations of History, vol. i. p. 29. in which there is a singular letter from Henry VIII. to a Mrs. Coward, enjoining her to marry one William Symonds, a servant of his. This curiosity is taken from the college of Arms.

† See *Fiddes*.

Their envy, however, by causing them to withdraw from court, left Wolsey without a rival. Bishop Fox, on retiring, advised the king not to "allow the servant to be greater than the master;" and was answered by Henry in these terms:—"that his servants should obey, and not command." * The Duke of Norfolk solicited permission to retire to his country house, for he found it impossible to supply money for the exigencies of the state; pageants, wars, and tournaments having nearly exhausted the treasury.† The Duke of Suffolk, who had hitherto maintained a close intimacy with Wolsey, was now indignant because the Cardinal, on summoning those to account who had borrowed money from the king to furnish retinues for the late war, had refused to cancel that part of the debt due from Suffolk, who, having incurred heavy expenses in his embassy to France, from his marriage, and from the maintenance of a household suitable to the brother-in-law of a king, was indebted to the treasury for a very considerable sum. He

1516.

* It does not, however, appear that the friendship between Wolsey and Fox was destroyed by these court cabals, for a friendly intercourse afterwards subsisted between them. *Chalmers' History of Oxford.*

† The Duke of Norfolk did not, however, resign his office until 1522, when his son, the Earl of Surrey, succeeded him. *Lingard's History of England,* vol. vi. p. 48.

therefore quitted the court, and lived for some time in retirement with his beautiful and royal consort. Henry soon began to regret the loss of those counsellors towards whom he had an hereditary obligation; and, when an occasion occurred which allowed him an opportunity of recalling them without derogating from his dignity, he gladly summoned them back to his presence.*

* *Holinshed*, p. 616. *Lord Herbert*, p. 58.

CHAP. V.

Death of Ferdinand King of Spain. — Character of that Monarch. — Birth of the Princess Mary. — State of Scotland. — Generous conduct of Henry to Margaret. — Her residence in London. — She partakes the Christmas Festivities. — Description of these; and of hawking. — Disturbances among the London artificers; their circumstances at this period. — Severity towards the Rioters. — State of commerce. — Return of Margaret to Scotland. — The sweating Sickness. — Restitution of Tournay to the French. — Treaty between France and England; an interview proposed. — Death of Maximilian. — 1516. — 1518. — 1519.

THIS year was not distinguished by any occurrences of much importance to Henry, except the death of Ferdinand, his father-in-law, and the birth of the Princess Mary. The first of these events took place in the month of January; and was the cause of impediment to certain negociations in which Henry had entered with Maximilian, late in the autumn. Maximilian, whose pecuniary necessities had obtained him the appellation of *pochidenari*, had long flattered Henry with the prospect of his one day resigning the Imperial Crown

1516.

in favour of the English monarch; a scheme which he held out chiefly with the view of obtaining from Henry such loans as the exigencies of the empire required. With this view, an ambassador had arrived in England during the month of October; and Henry, instigated partly by Wolsey, who was now violently opposed to the French interests, was liberal in his donations to the Emperor, and a secret treaty was concluded between Germany and England. Upon the death of Ferdinand, Maximilian, weary of war, changed his plan of action, and determined upon forming a truce with all his enemies: so that the alliance with Henry proved of no effect.

1515.

The death of Ferdinand was solemnly lamented in a funeral obsequy at St. Paul's, agreeably to custom, though it is probable, that Henry had now discovered how little reason he had to mourn the loss of so perfidious an ally, and of a relative who had so little his real interest at heart. The character of Ferdinand was consistently mean, selfish, and false; he gloried in dissimulation: "the King of France," said he frequently to his intimate associates, speaking of Louis the Twelfth, "is fool enough to affirm that I have deceived him *once*; the drunken dog lies, I have deceived him *twenty* times." So active was his intriguing spirit, that he not only scarcely took

rest himself, but debarred those around him from enjoying tranquillity: no man knew better how to render the weaknesses and passions of others subservient to his own views; and so great was the ambition of Ferdinand, that the project of acquiring universal monarchy was attributed to him. Yet, notwithstanding his conquests on the African shore, and the discovery of the New World in his reign, Ferdinand died poor; an atheist in religion, he averred that "he would keep his oath when any deity could be found whom he could believe in, to swear by:" yet his superstitious fears caused him to avoid Madrigale, a town at which it had been predicted that he should end his days; and, despising during his life all moral and religious obligations, his death-bed was a scene of fanatic and bigoted devotion to the church of Rome. He died at a village called Madrigaleio, whither his disease had obliged him to stop, and clothed in the habit of Saint Dominic, which he insisted on wearing before his decease.*

This event was soon succeeded by the birth of the Princess Mary, at Greenwich; an occurrence which was received with the
Feb. 18. greater joy, as the death of the two young princes who had been born

* *Lord Herbert*, p. 63.

previously, had greatly tended to revive in the mind of Henry those fears of the disapprobation of heaven towards his union, which had, at an earlier period, been suggested to his father.*

While the rest of Europe enjoyed, for a short period, comparative tranquillity, Scotland was harassed by contending factions. Margaret, the Queen of that country, sister of Henry the Eighth, who had been married at fourteen years of age to James the Fourth, a woman of high spirit, and of a bold and ambitious character, had been left Regent by her husband during the minority of her son James the Fifth, and of his brother, the Duke of Rothesay: but her power was only to endure during her state of widowhood. Braving, however, this limitation, which had been decreed by a convention of the states, Margaret, a few months after the death of James, had brought the country into a state of faction by marrying Archibald Douglass, Earl of Angus, a man of great influence from his birth and character, and of too aspiring a disposition to resign calmly that power to which the queen had now no just claim. He was supported, in his attempts to retain the Regency, by a party whom Henry secretly favoured,

* In November, 1514, the queen was delivered of a son, who died soon after his birth. *Stowe's Annals*, p. 498.

although Margaret's second marriage had been contracted without his consent. The Duke of Albany, cousin-german to the late King, was at the head of the other faction, which, during the reign of Louis the Twelfth, had been countenanced by the French court. After violent contentions between the nobles of Scotland who hated the power of the Douglasses, and yet dreaded the vengeance of Henry, should they again break out into open hostilities against him, Margaret and the Earl of Angus were at length forced to fly from Scotland. They proceeded from Tantallon to Berwick, and thence to the nunnery at Coldstream. Henry, being apprized of their flight, ordered them to be conducted to Harbottle Castle, in Northumberland, where they were received by Lord Dacres, warden of the marches. From this castle, Margaret wrote a supplicatory letter to Henry, who sent to the fugitives, not only his permission to remain in the retreat which they had chosen, but clothes, plate, and money. Margaret was soon afterwards delivered of a daughter, to whom she gave her name, Margaret Douglas, and who was subsequently married to the Earl of Lennox.*

It is evident that Henry, with very little risk or bloodshed, might have acquired an absolute

* *Holinshed, Hist. of Scotland,* p. 487.

dominion over Scotland during these domestic troubles: his vicinity, the terror of the English forces with which the battle of Flodden had inspired the Scots, his own tranquil condition with respect to other powers, and the near connection between him and the Scottish queen, affording him an obvious pretext for interfering in the affairs of her subjects, are all circumstances which excite surprize at that want of address and policy which prevented Henry from seizing such manifest advantages. But while this line of conduct may be deemed a deficiency of political skill, as a brother it was commendable and disinterested. He not only commanded that respect and attention should be paid to Margaret and her husband at Harbottle, but, in the course of the ensuing year, invited them both to his court. The Queen of Scots thankfully acceded to this proposal, but instead of being accompanied by Angus, she was suddenly deserted by him at the point of her departure for London.* Struck with consternation, she demanded advice from the English lords around her; and having received the intelligence that Angus had returned into Scotland, she was counsel-

* Douglas, says Lord Herbert, thought it a convenient opportunity to return home and settle his affairs, having made his peace with the Scottish government while at Harbottle. *Herbert*, p. 67.

led by her attendants not to delay her journey, but to accept the protection of a brother who had already manifested his regard for her welfare. Henry, on hearing that Angus had thus privately withdrawn from his wife, exclaimed, "that he had behaved like a Scot." He abated, however, nothing of his kindness to his sister; and Queen Katharine presented her with a white palfrey, on which, in compliance with a custom which would excite no small degree of astonishment in the present day, in a royal procession, Queen Margaret entered London, riding on a pillion behind Sir Thomas Par*; a great company of lords and ladies, richly attired, being in attendance. She alighted first at Baynard's Castle†, and thence proceeded to Greenwich, where she was cordially received by the king and queen, and where she had the happiness of beholding her sister Mary; thus "enjoying a felicity," in the words of Lord Herbert, "seldom known

* Probably Sir Thomas Par, or Parre, of Kendal in Westmorland, father of Katherine Par, afterwards queen. See *Fuller's Worthies,* vol. ii. p. 427.

† Baynard's castle, in Thames street, founded by a follower of William the Conqueror, from whom it derived its name. It was long in possession of the Fitzwalters, who claimed, in right of the castle, the office of castilian and banner bearer in the city of London. It was burned down 1428, was rebuilt by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and was afterwards frequently used as a temporary residence by several of our monarchs. *Pennant's London,* p. 477.

to princes, of meeting, after an union with foreign courts, once more at home." Tournaments were immediately proclaimed in honour of Margaret, and conducted with great magnificence. The king, who, with the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Essex, and Nicholas Carew, abided all comers, received as usual the chief meed of praise; even Sir William Kingston *, a tall and athletic man, was overcome by the agile monarch; and though "many did well," says the flattering chronicler, the "king did best."

Margaret remained during a year in England, and resided principally at Baynard's Castle; but subsequently fixed her abode in the palace of Scotland †, which was built for the reception of the Scottish monarchs. The kindness and deference which she received could not banish from her mind the desertion of Angus, with whom she never afterwards lived on terms of confidence and affection.

The Queen of Scotland passed the season of Christmas in the society of her English relations. This festival was celebrated during the sixteenth century by customs and diversions peculiar to

* Sir William Kingston, captain of the guard to Henry the Eighth, and lieutenant of the tower, was a man much employed and trusted by the king. *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 397.

† Now Scotland Yard, in Westminster. See *Stowe's Survey of London.*

Great Britain, our ancestors regarding it in the double light of a hallowed commemoration, and of a season of conviviality. Games, mummeries, pageants, and dancings enlivened their dwellings; cards, dice, tables, nayles, points, and other games, prohibited by the law at other times, were allowed during the holidays, while unbounded hospitality was maintained in their country mansions, dispelling the gloom naturally occasioned by inclement weather and the short continuance of day-light. The tables were spread from morning to night, and all visitors, whether invited or not, were made welcome to partake of the profuse and tempting provision by heralds, wearing the coates of arms belonging to their masters, and crying "largesse" in the spacious halls in which the festive board was usually spread. *

In order to give some degree of system and arrangement to the Christmas diversions, and to prevent their degenerating into riot or indecency, it was an ancient custom both in England and in Scotland to elect a lord of misrule, or, as he was called in the North, an abbot of unreason,

* The *Stately pie*, namely a peacock or pheasant pie, sirloins of beef, brawn, minced pies, turkeys, geese, capons, and plumb-pudding graced the board. The hachin, or great sausage, was to be boiled by day-break, or the cook seized by the arms and run round the market for her laziness. *Drake's Shakespeare and his Times*, vol. i. p. 206. *Strutt's Sports and Pastimes*, p. 306.

a mock prince whose reign extended through the greater part of the holidays, and whose office was to contrive, regulate, and controul the sports in which all were engaged, from the master to the menial, in this merry season. The lords of misrule, who were to be found exercising their authority in the palace of the king, as well as in the house of every person of distinction, from All Hallow eve to Candlemas day, contended with each other in friendly trial of skill, which should devise "the rarest pastimes to delight the beholder;" fine and subtle disguisings, masks and mummeries, attesting the success of this "pageant potentate." Besides an intimate knowledge of all the *business* of amusement, the "master of merry disports," as he was sometimes called, was required to be a good musician, to sing his caroll or song after supper, and to command other gentlemen to sing with him. This personage was established by royal authority, and continued in England long after other countries had discontinued the usage; but it was at length found that his authority was abused; immorality was sometimes permitted, and licentiousness made the companion of mirth. In short, as our ancestors became more intellectual, and less puerile in their diversions, the charms of the drama and of conversation engaged their attention, and

they found that they could be merry without hiring wit, or reducing pleasure to a system.*

Henry the Eighth kept up the festivities of Christmas with the same jovial spirit with which he promoted every other species of hilarity. It was his custom to keep his Christmas at his different country palaces in the vicinity of London; sometimes at Eltham, at Greenwich, or Richmond; and afterwards at Hampton Court, when that stately edifice came into his possession. This year Greenwich had the preference; and the revels were, as usual, prolonged until after Twelfth night, the usual ceremonies of New year's day intervening.

The beginning of the new year, in the time of Henry the Eighth, was celebrated with a much greater degree of form than the mere social

* In the time of Edward the Sixth, George Ferrers, a poet, an historian, and a lawyer, was employed as a master of the revels to the king, and received great commendation and reward from the king for the manner in which he had fulfilled this office. *Strutt*, p. 298.

Mr. Strutt is of opinion that the lord of misrule, generally considered as peculiar to Great Britain, was common on the Continent, although continued longer in England than elsewhere. p. 298. The inns of court retained this custom after it had been abandoned by the nobility. In France, the lord of misrule was called L'Abbé de Malgouverné and L'Abbé de Liesse. *Ellis's Letters on Engl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 273. This usage was discontinued in the reign of James the First, the Puritans considering it as the remains of a Pagan ritual. *Warton, Hist. Eng. Poet.* vol. ii. p. 380.

commemoration with which it is now observed. The custom of interchanging gifts was not, as in the present day, merely the display of good will among friends, but was a ceremonious attention due to royalty, from the most considerable of its subjects. In the household book of Henry the Eighth, the form of presenting these annual donations is prescribed, as a matter of considerable importance. Early in the morning the queen was to send her present to the king by a messenger, who, if a knight, was to be rewarded according to the pleasure of the monarch; but if an esquire, to receive eight marks, or at the least a hundred shillings. This ceremony being ended, the king, seated in state, was to receive the gifts of the archbishops, bishops, the great crown ministers of his household, and of the lords and ladies, who entered according to their several degrees.*

It is not surprizing, that so much form should have attended the reception of these donations, when it is remembered that they consisted generally of presents in money, by fifty, thirty, and ten pounds from each person, according to his rank, or of jewels, wearing apparel, and books, then articles of great value; and that from these contributions the royal wardrobe was replenished, and the king's private

* Harleian MS. 365.

purse considerably augmented. The clergy were usually more liberal in their offerings than the temporal lords; and during the subsequent part of this reign their generosity increased with their fears of the arbitrary temper which the monarch displayed.*

The New year's day was succeeded by the festivities of Twelfth night, which were reverently observed not only at court, but at the universities, the Temple, Lincoln's-Inn, and Gray's-Inn; and with this day the holiday diversions of Christmas terminated with the rich, while, among the lower ranks, they were usually prolonged until Candlemas.

The Twelfth cake and the wassail bowl, customs of great antiquity, were usually followed by a pageant, or a masque, from which is de-

* Some of the gifts sent to the Princess Mary are as follows: "a little tablet of gold from the Prince (Edward VI.); a little chain, a pair of hose wrought in gold and silk from the Princess Elizabeth; a gown of carnation satin of the Venice fashion from my Lady Margaret (the Lady Margaret Douglas); a wrought smock from my Lady Frances Dorset; a pepper-box of silver gilt from Lady Butler; a book from Lord Morley; a diamond ring from the Earl of Hertford; a fair steel glass from three Venetians; a hat from Dr. Augustines, and a pair of silver snuffers from Mr. Hobbs. The rewards, made in money to the servants who brought these presents, amounted to no inconsiderable sum." *Ellis's Original Letters*, vol. i. p. 272.

Strype's Mem. vol. i. p. 210.

rived the practice, still in use, of personating fictitious characters on the festivity of Twelfth night.* The entertainment, which was on this occasion presented before the dejected queen of Scotland, was a pageant, representing the garden of Esperance. This garden had a tower at each corner, and was surrounded with gilded railings; within were banks set with artificial flowers of silk and gold, the leaves cut in green satin, "so that they seemed verie flowers," and in the midst was a pillar of antique work, formed of gold and set with pearls and precious stones. On the top of the pillar was an embowered arch, with a golden crown on it; and within it a bush of red and white roses, all of silk of gold, with a tree of pomegranates, of the same materials. Six knights, and as many ladies richly attired, then appeared, descended into the hall, and danced many goodly dances. After these were per-

* We are indebted to King Alfred for the festivities of Twelfth Night; that king having made a law with respect to holidays, by virtue of which the twelve days after Christmas were to be holidays. *Collier, Eccl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 163.

Many of the masques of Ben Jonson were written for the amusement of the royal family on this night. *Drake*, p. 132. vol. i. The custom of choosing a king and queen was derived from the idea that the Eastern Magi were kings, and hence this day has been called the feast of the three kings. *Drake*, 127. vol. i.

formed, they retired into the enclosure, and the pageant was conveyed out of the hall. *

When the diversions of Christmas were ended, Henry had recourse to the exercise of hawking, in which he took great delight and displayed considerable proficiency in his juvenile days. As this sport was the frequent recreation, not only of the king, but of the English nobility in general, at this period, some account of it may not be deemed an unnecessary digression.

"Hawking or falconry, the art of training or flying hawks for the purpose of catching other birds," had this distinctive character from the other pastimes of this period, that it could only be practised by persons of rank. The possession of a hawk was considered as one of the ensigns of nobility; and those who were entitled to be the owners of this bird, frequently travelled with them, took them to the field of battle, and refused to part with them, even to procure liberty when taken prisoners. No action was deemed so disgraceful to a nobleman as to surrender his hawk or his dog. †

The laws of etiquette which prohibited the

* This spectacle was preceded by the cake and wassail bowl, of which the king and queen partook at a stated time. See *Harleian MSS.* 365, in which is described the order and place wherein the king and queen are to receive the "bowl and wassail."

† *Holinshed*, p. 616. also *Strutt's Sports*, p. 21.

use of the hawk to the vulgar, regulated, in the same aristocratic spirit, the species of bird, which, according to the degree of an individual, he was permitted to possess.* An emperor might have an eagle, a vulture, or a melown; the king must descend to a gerfalcon; a falcon gentle and a tercel gentle were permitted to a prince; a falcon of the rock, to a duke; a falcon peregrin to an earl; a merlyon to a lady; an hoby for a young man; a goshawk for a yeoman; a sparrow-hawk for a priest; besides other varieties of the bird, too numerous to recite.

The ladies and the clergy both joined in this amusement, in which the fair sex frequently equalled and sometimes excelled the sportsmen; and assuming, in some instances, the male attire, ladies of rank occasionally formed parties of their own, or joined those in which their lords took a share. To a lady, indeed, is to be ascribed an elaborate treatise on hawking†, which was

* During the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, hawking descended to the gentry and yeomanry; and no man could have the slightest pretension to the character of a gentleman who did not keep a cast of hawks. *Drake's Shakespeare and his Times*, vol. i. p. 256.

† Dame Julian Barnes, or Berners, sister of Richard Lord Berners, and prioress of the nunnery of Sopewell, wrote a treatise on hawking, hunting and heraldry, which was printed in the neighbouring monastery of St. Albans, in 1481. The style in which this work is written, is an instance of the want of refinement in females of the sixteenth century.

regarded as the best authority respecting every particular of this sport.

This writer, who was prioress of the nunnery of Sopewell, and who exercised the same mannorial jurisdiction, as an abbot, was not, it seems, prevented by her sacred profession from entering into this diversion as a study. The clergy were, nevertheless, prohibited by canon law from participating in this amusement, but with little effect; and they drew down severe censures from the poets of the day, on account of their immoderate fondness for this recreation.*

The mode in which hawking was practised varied according to circumstances, for it was pursued either on foot or on horseback, or by the side of lakes or smooth water. Henry seems to have preferred the land amusement; and entered into it with so much ardour as sometimes to encounter inconvenient and dangerous accidents.† On foot the sportsmen were provided with a long pole, in order to assist them in leaping over hedges, ditches, or fences, which might obstruct their progress. The party who wished to pursue water hawking were obliged to wait by the side of a river or pool until the game arose; or if that did not take place soon, they were indebted

* *Strutt's Sports and Pastimes*, p. 27.

† *Hall*, 16th year of Henry the Eighth.

to the assistance of the falconer, who, by alarming the birds, induced them to fly aloft, and to encounter their destruction.

The hawk, which was brought to the scene of action hood-winked and seated on the hand, was now uncovered and allowed to fly at the prey; but was not left to her own discretion, being confined to the hand of the sportsman by straps of leather, called jesses, which were fastened round the legs of the bird; and to these jesses were attached lines, or thongs of leather, which the sportsman wound loosely round his little finger. The legs of the hawk were adorned with bells fastened with leathers, to which was attached a creance, or long thread, by which the bird, when in training, was drawn back, after she had begun to fly, or, to use technical language, reclaimed. It was necessary that the bells should not be too heavy, lest they should impede the flight of the bird; that they should be of equal weight, and musical, both of one sound, one a semitone below the other. The Milan bells were considered the best, the sounds being silver, but they were expensive; and there were also good bells brought from Dort in Holland. The person who carried the hawk was provided with gloves for the purpose, to prevent the talons from hurting the hand. Henry possessed, as it appears from his inventories, several articles of

this nature, and those in his possession were usually richly embroidered. *

It may easily be supposed how important a personage the falconer, who had the training of the birds, was deemed; and how valuable the well-tutored falcons must have been considered, when this sport was regarded so important to the happiness of the monarch and of his nobles, that it was thought necessary for the government to afford its protection to the young birds. Henry the Seventh, who was not too much inclined to promote any thing like pleasure, made a law in the eleventh year of his reign, enacting "that if any person was convicted of destroying the eggs of a falcon, a goshawk, a swan, or a lance, he should suffer imprisonment for a year and a day, and be fined at the king's pleasure." Nor was this act mitigated until the reign of Elizabeth, when the amusement of hawking was on its decline. Immense sums were frequently given for a pair of falcons; and it was even considered as a favour to sell the object of such constant care, vigilance, and pains, as a well-educated hawk.

Such was one of the various pastimes in which Henry improved his bodily vigour, and dissi-

* *Strutt*, p. 29.

At Hampton court, in the jewel house, were seven gloves embroidered. *Harleian MS. lib. insig.* 1419.

pated the revenues. Katharine appears not to have joined in this exercise, which, though practised to a great extent in France, was not pursued with the same ardour in her own country. Devoted to her needle, in the words of Forest, a poet of the day:

> " With stole and with needle she was not to seeke
> " And other practiseings for ladies mete
> " To pastymes, and tables, tick tacke and glete,
> " Cardis and dyce." *

In process of time, the ladies, easily led by example and fashion, began to employ themselves more in " needle-work, cutworks, bone-lace-making, and other pretty devices;" but these feminine accomplishments were not generally preferred to the animated exercises of hawking and hunting, until the beginning of the next century. †

The exemption from foreign wars enjoyed at this time by the king enabled him to bestow a greater degree of attention upon the
1517. affairs of his subjects at home. The commercial interests of the country were the cause of serious disturbances, during this year, in the metropolis; and Henry, on his return from Greenwich, became engrossed with subjects of a more momentous kind than the

* *Warton, Hist. Eng. Poet.* vol. iii. p. 314.

† *Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy.*

following of a hawk, or the contrivance of a pageant. The artificers of London, who had long considered that they were injured by the practice of encouraging the introduction of foreign commodities, began to manifest a considerable degree of irritation and impatience, and a determination to take their cause into their own hands.

The late king, with a view to benefit trade, had carefully laid down stipulations in most of the treaties that he formed with foreign powers, for establishing a commercial intercourse between them and Great Britain. He encouraged Italian and German merchants to visit his dominions, to dispose of foreign goods, and to take in exchange woollen cloths, tin and lead; and gave them a safe conduct to protect them from molestation. At first, these foreign traders were constrained to pay double duties on the goods which they exported and imported, but this being found detrimental to commerce, the customs were abated, and the trade became rapidly considerable.* The greater portion of the foreign artificers consisted of Germans residing in London; and a company composed of these foreigners, entitled the merchants of the steelyard, established themselves in the city, and carried on a brisk traffic in wheat, rye, pitch, tar, cables, flax,

* See *Henry's Hist. England,* vol. xii. p. 546.

hemp and linen cloth. These traders resided in Cosin lane, Downe-gate ward, separate streets being then assigned to the various branches of trade; so that these busy scenes which are now replete with variety, must have possessed far less attraction in the sixteenth century, when no shops, but those allotted for some specified calling, were seen in the different streets.

Those who were in quest of gloves and ribbands were then obliged to adjourn to East Cheape, where the haberdashers hung out their tempting wares; as also, on London bridge, where, in the time of Stowe, some of these shops remained. The pepperers and grocers were in Bucklersbury; all the cooks' shops were to be at Cooke's row, in Thames street, "where travellers might find, at all times of the day, meat roast and boiled, and fish." The granaries of the city were kept at Leaden-hall; but the bread was baked at Stratford-le-bow, and brought thence in carts to the city.*

The German company was the most ancient, and the richest in England; and, having made many superb presents to the English monarchs, it was generally favoured by the court. The merchant adventurers of England shared the trade with this great body, and being composed entirely of Englishmen, enjoyed the goodwill of the people.

* See *Stowe's Survey of London.*

But while both Henry the Seventh and his son encouraged foreigners to settle in the kingdom, and endeavoured to establish a facility of intercourse with other nations, they carefully protected the interests of the English merchants, and even occasionally lent them sums of money; yet, notwithstanding this attention to trade, it certainly was so little understood at this period, that the English traders, finding that the money exported far exceeded that imported by the foreign merchants, endeavoured to obviate this evil by the following expedient: they persuaded Henry the Seventh to enact laws compelling all traders, whether foreign or native, to import in every ship a certain quantity of bullion in proportion to the value of the other goods, and to lay out that coin or bullion in the commodities of the country, forbidding any bullion to be exported. In this scheme, however, the merchants overlooked the important circumstance, that when the value of the imports exceeds that of the exports, the balance must be paid in precious metals; nor could any laws take effect, or prevent this inevitable result.

Henry the Eighth was not possessed of the sound judgment of his father, nor of his knowledge of commercial affairs; but he clearly saw how essential to his interests, and how conducive to his importance, was the extension and im-

provement of trade; with all his good intentions, his pleasures, perhaps, conduced more to a brisk circulation of trade than many of his laws and regulations. The display and amusements, the dress and extravagance of the court, the emulation to excel in every species of splendour, which prevailed among the nobility, and the intercourse with the French, who have always surpassed us in all that is gay and costly, naturally occasioned an enormous demand for silks, damasks, jewels, wines, spices, and luxuries of every description. These articles were supplied chiefly by Genoese, Florentine, and Venetian merchants, to whom safe conducts and assurances of protection were given. But jealousies, in some respects well founded, and justified by insults and injuries, appeared among the English merchants towards these unwelcome intruders upon their privileges. It appears to have been the intention of the British kings to divide trade between the two rival companies; but this scheme was frustrated by incessant contests, which, in the succeeding reign, ended in the abolition of the German traders as a corporation in England.

At this time the hatred and envy of the English towards the foreign merchants broke out into tumult, and some time elapsed before the commotion was quelled. The insulting conduct

of the unpopular party contributed greatly to increase the irritation of the citizens, and drove them almost to fury. The foreigners, boasting of the favour and protection of the king, inflicted all those insults on the English mechanics and tradesmen, that persons, accustomed themselves to subjection and to obsequious deportment, delight to offer when they have an opportunity of asserting an arrogant superiority. An instance of this oppressive insolence occurred in the case of one Williamson, a carpenter, who having purchased two stockdoves, was rudely deprived of them by a Frenchman, who declared that they "were not meat for a carpenter:" the poor man in vain declared, that having paid for them, he had a right to regale himself; but the Frenchman ran off with them, crying out that he would take them to the French ambassador. Some opprobrious language was the natural result of this insolent and shameful conduct; the carpenter having given vent to his indignation, was sent to prison through the interest of the ambassador, who, on being sued by the mayor of the city to permit his deliverance, answered, "that by the body of God the English knave should lose his life, for that no Englishman should deny what a Frenchman required:" nor would he give any other reply to the intercession of the carpenter's friends.

This occurrence, succeeded by others still more aggravating, induced a man named John Lincoln, a broker, to address a bill, posted in the streets, to Doctor Standish, a popular preacher, intreating him in his sermon, at Saint Mary Spittal on Easter Monday, to move the mayor and aldermen to take part with their fellow-citizens against the strangers; but Standish refused, alleging that the matter was not proper for a discourse of religious matters. Lincoln, not discouraged by this rebuff, had recourse to one Doctor Bele, a canon of the church of Saint Mary Spittal, and to him he represented the distressed state of the English artificers; that their complaints had been presented to the counsel, but had been denied a hearing; that the foreign tradesmen residing in the suburbs, in Southwark, Westminster, Holborn, Temple Bar, Saint Martin's, Algate, and Tower Hill, intercepted the best articles of traffic before they could be brought into the markets; that the Dutchmen imported nails, iron, wainscot ready prepared, baskets, tables, chairs, and other household implements, so that the English had no opportunity of trafficking in this branch. "Their number," added Lincoln, "was so great," that one Sunday in Lent "he saw six hundred foreigners shooting at the Popinjay

with cross-bows, and from the ascendancy which the size of their party gave them, winning from their opponents large sums of money to put into their common box."*

Prompted by these representations, Doctor Bele openly preached against the favour and opulence which foreigners enjoyed, and his sermon inspirited many persons who were before cautious, to speak boldly against these detested intruders. The young apprentices began now to evince openly the ill-will which rankled in the minds of all the citizens towards the foreigners, and insulted them on every occasion; on which account some of these youths were committed to prison by the mayor. Meanwhile, a rumour prevailing that on the first of May next, afterwards commonly called evil May-day, a general insurrection of the citizens was projected, Cardinal Wolsey sent for the mayor, and desired that on the night of the twenty-ninth of April, he would order every inhabitant to his separate ward, and that no doors should be allowed to

April 18, 1518.

* Shooting at the Popingay, (a stuffed bird, usually representing a cock, and placed on a post, or in a tree,)was generally practised at this period in the fields of Finsbury, or other uninclosed places round the suburbs of London. *Strutt's Sports and Pastimes*, p. 48 — 60.

open after nine in the evening, nor before seven in the morning. This order had been scarcely proclaimed, when Sir John Monday, an alderman, found two young men playing at a game called Bucklers, with a considerable party of youths looking on. On his remonstrating with the young gallants, they resisted, and, raising the cry of "clubs and 'prentices," the street was instantly filled with armed men; not only the the citizens and lower orders of people, but some individuals of higher rank being among the rioters. The city was quickly in a state of commotion, the people rising as if by common consent; nor could the presence of Sir Thomas More, who was greatly beloved by the citizens, and who was sent to persuade them into submission, pacify their indignation. They immediately rescued from Newgate several men who had been imprisoned for insulting the foreigners; and intelligence being conveyed to the Lord Chancellor Wolsey, he considered these disturbances of a nature so alarming, that he thought fit to provide an additional guard to his own dwelling. The king was likewise apprized of the riot, and the Earls of Surrey and of Shrewsbury were sent, with a body of troops, to subdue the tumult.

The rage of the multitude was chiefly directed against one Mewtas, a native of Picardy, who had afforded assistance to the French in carrying

on an illicit trade in the city. The disorder, however, was not of long duration, for about three in the morning the city was restored to tranquillity. The lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Roger Cholmondeley, incurred much ill-will by injudiciously firing off certain pieces of ordnance upon the rioters, an act which was both unnecessary and severe. The ringleaders of the rioters having been seized and committed to custody, and Dr. Bele and John Lincoln imprisoned in the Tower, commissioners were appointed to hear and decide on the punishment due to the offenders. This court, over which the mayor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, and several other noblemen presided, sat in Guildhall, whither the prisoners were brought, tied together with ropes, to the number of two hundred and forty-eight persons. These poor men were indicted of treason, on a statute of King Henry the Fifth, which made it a treasonable offence to commit an act of hostility towards any country with which the king was at peace.* The greatest rigour was expected from the Duke of Norfolk, whose hatred towards the citizens was so notorious, that the year preceding, a profligate priest belonging to his household having been killed in the streets, he

* See Pub. Act, H. 5. Ann. Secundo, Cap. 6.

was reported to have said: "I pray God I may once have the citizens in my power!" Whatever may have been the animosities of the duke, however, towards the citizens, his fear equalled his dislike, and he thought it necessary to issue a proclamation, that all men should keep their wives at home, and that women should not be allowed to loiter and talk in the streets. So much influence is the female sex supposed to possess, and to exert occasionally, to create and increase confusion. Every other precaution was taken to ensure tranquillity.

The Duke of Norfolk was attended in his progress to the city by a guard consisting of thirteen hundred men; and, in the streets, were placed guards who insulted the citizens, who were too much dejected to reply to their attacks. Although the rising of the malcontents appeared to have been by one consent, yet, as upon examination, no previous combination could be traced, the proceedings of the commission seem harsh and rigorous: thirteen of the mob being executed on gibbets erected in those parts of the city where the principal outrages had been committed. This sight distressed the people, who were, moreover*, treated with unnecessary cruelty by Sir Edmund Howard,

* According to Hall, whose evident partiality to the citizens causes us sometimes to distrust his representations.

Knight Marshall, and insulted with opprobrious language by the servants of the Duke of Norfolk. A few days after this melancholy scene, Lincoln and several others were condemned to death; Lincoln was executed, but his companions received a respite at the gallows; an act of mercy which was received by the people with acclamations of gratitude. The king probably began to perceive that his commissioners were pushing this affair with too much severity; and, after accepting the apologies of the recorder for his apparent remissness in permitting these disturbances to assume so serious an aspect, he suffered the prisoners to be brought into his presence, where Wolsey, kneeling before him, entreated mercy for the delinquents. His request was conceded, this mode of granting pardon having been previously concerted; and after reprimanding the mayor and recorder for their negligence, and declaring that the prisoners had justly merited death, Wolsey proclaimed the king's gracious pardon; on which the culprits, who (as Hall says) were "none of the discreetest sort," cast up their halters into the air; and many offenders, who had not been tried, rushed into the hall and received the royal mercy with the rest. It is a pleasing circumstance that this clemency towards the citizens was accorded at the entreaties

of three queens; Katharine of Arragon, Mary of France, and Margaret of Scotland, who, on their knees before Henry, had begged for mercy to the citizens. There is reason, however, to suppose, that had not this petition been seconded by the counsels of Wolsey, Henry would have been so ungallant as to have refused it.* The gallows were immediately taken down; and many a good prayer was said for the
May 22. king, whose popularity was greatly increased by this wise termination of the affray. †

During this month, Margaret, Queen of Scotland, returned to her own country. Her entire expences, during the year which she passed in England, were defrayed by Henry; and, at her departure, he supplied her so amply with jewels, tapestry, plate, money, horses, and other things necessary in her exalted condition, that, poor as she entered these dominions, she left them "with great riches;" and the king, with consistent liberality, paid the charges of her journey back to Berwick, as he had done those which Margaret had incurred in coming to his court. ‡

The month of June this year was enlivened by jousts which the king held expressly for the enter-

* *Stowe's Chronicle*, p. 508.
† *Hall's Chronicles*, p. 591. ‡ Ibid.

tainment of the foreign ambassadors. Henry, with a party of twelve combatants, on this occasion entered the lists against the Duke of Suffolk, with a troop of the same number. The dresses of the king and of his followers were very splendid; and Henry wore on his head a lady's sleeve full of diamonds. The duke, attended by the Marquis of Dorset, the Earls of Essex and Surry, and eight others, "had his bases of white velvet and crimson satin, lozenged, and set full of letters of C. M. of gold, for Charles and Mary." Then the trumpets having sounded, the king and duke ran fiercely against each other, and their followers also engaged. It was impossible in so great a display of valour to say who distinguished himself most; for according to the report of Sir Edward Guildford, master of the armoury, and of the judges and heralds, five hundred and six spears were broken at these jousts. In the evening a sumptuous banquet was served up to the king and the ambassadors, and many riddles and pastimes were introduced, which closed the amusements of the day.

The appearance of the sweating sickness, which again broke out, and swept off numbers of the people, cast a gloom upon the court, to which its ravages now extended. The king, distressed at the effects of this fever, kept no solemn Christmas, and, fearful of infection, remained in

a seclusion little congenial to his inclinations. Lord Grey de Wilton, Lord Clinton, and many knights and officers, fell victims to this pestilence; and in some towns there was a great mortality. It was thought necessary to remove Trinity term from Westminster to Oxford, where it continued, however, but for one day, and was again adjourned to Westminster.

A treaty was this year agitated between the kings of England and France, concerning the restitution of Tournay. The unprofitable conquest of that city had produced little but anxiety to Henry, who incessantly dreaded lest his garrison there should be surprised by the French; yet Wolsey, who with all his pretended zeal for his master's interests, never, when they interfered with his own, relinquished that selfish policy which in the end proved one source of his ruin, had persuaded Henry to retain the city, and to build a strong fortress there, at considerable cost, for its defence. The Cardinal found some difficulty in managing the affairs of his foreign diocese, of which he soon became weary. The French Bishop elect and the Abbot of Tournay were resolved not to submit tamely to see their preferments wrested from them; and the neighbouring cities naturally inclined to favour the clergy of their own country, refused to submit to the spiritual jurisdiction of Doctor Sampson,

Wolsey's almoner, whom he had left there as his vicegerent.* This man not only promoted the interests of Wolsey with zeal, but flattered his vanity with presents, and sent him, among other things, a curious piece of tapestry wrought in France, representing the figure of Saint George on horseback, which was highly prized by the Cardinal.†

The council of Tournay seemed also to know how expedient it was to be entirely devoted to the favourite of their monarch; and Wolsey, whose power was now absolute every where, was addressed by Doctor Sampson as the "father of his country."‡ Yet the tenure of the bishoprick of Tournay was not the more certain for the devoted servility of the garrison; and Wolsey, by means of spies, having discovered a plot to attack Tournay, as the principal object of assault, and likewise to invade England on the side of Scotland, a confederacy in which France, Scotland, Denmark, and some disaffected English were united, endeavoured to instigate Henry to a fresh war.§ The king would not consent to so rash a proceeding without the advice of his old

* Sampson, whom Wolsey afterwards by his influence elevated to the offices of king's chaplain, and dean of St. Stephens, on his return to England, sat in the Privy Council, and in the end became a bishop.

† *Strype's Mem.* vol. i. p. 29. ‡ Ibid. p. 13.

§ *Strype's Mem.* vol. i. p. 13—21. 31—35.

counsellors; and for the benefit of their opinion recalled them to court. The Duke of Norfolk, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester, strongly opposed a breach of the treaty with France, and represented it as equally unjust and imprudent. The counsellors who were under the influence of Wolsey, and the Cardinal in a vehement speech, argued in favour of hostilities. Henry, however, had hitherto held a middle course between the paths in which these two opposite factions wished him to walk, and had contented himself with secretly giving Maximilian drafts upon the Friscobaldi, Italian bankers, to enable him to continue his operations against the French in Italy; and Wolsey was won over to the Italian party by a pension of 10,000 ducats from Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan. Francis, however, contrived by flattery and presents to win back the favourite to his interests; a secret negociation was immediately entered into between Wolsey and the French resident at Paris; and plenipotentiaries were in the ensuing year sent over to England, with attendants and guards to the number of twelve hundred.

Bonnivet, admiral of France, was the principal envoy, and the ambassadors were received with great splendour, and with every demonstration of respect. The Earl of Surrey met them on Black-

heath, magnificently attired in a robe of silver tissue, with a great whistle round his neck, denoting his office of high admiral. The foreigners were first lodged in Taylors' Hall, but afterwards proceeded to Greenwich, where they passed some days in dancing and banquetting. Wolsey not only now relinquished his hostile views upon France, but began zealously to argue in favour of a treaty with that country, and even represented in council that the city of Tournay had already been an expensive conquest; and that little probability appeared of its ever becoming an useful or safe possession. These arguments (which, as Polydore Virgil remarks, would have been sound had they not sprung from the corruption and avarice of Wolsey), were well received, and were seconded by the Bishop of Durham. The Cardinal's motives in thus promoting the restitution of his foreign see, are not difficult to be accounted for, when it is considered, that in compensation for this sacrifice, he was allowed by the French government 12,000 livres per annum for life; and those members of the privy-council who argued in favour of the restitution, were also remunerated*, by orders of the French monarch. Nor was the sum of 600,000 crowns in compensation for Tournay

* *Herbert*, 75—78.

less acceptable to his master, who now began to find that his treasury was not inexhaustible. Besides this, an ample consideration was made for the citadel that Henry had erected at Tournay; and Wolsey, who understood well how to turn to account every advantage, gave particular instructions to his servants and officers to sell, to the greatest profit, the materials of other buildings which had been the work of the English monarch: the ammunition was also returned to England.* The Earl of Worcester, who, when Lord Herbert, had assisted by his valour and counsels in the conquest of Tournay, was commissioned to restore it to the French monarch; and with the spirit of a brave officer and zealous servant, he refused to allow the Marquis de Chastillon, the French commander, to enter the town with a banner unrolled, insisting on his bearing it furled, to denote that it was voluntarily yielded, and not subdued.

The restitution of Tournay was one of various articles in a treaty at this time concluded between England and France, the preliminaries of which had been secretly arranged between the Cardinal and the French ministers. Francis the First, aware of the importance that it was to

* *Strype*, vol. i. p. 34.

his interests to gain the favour of Wolsey, had, by unremitting attentions and bribes, succeeded in securing the regard of the proud favourite. This point was not, however, accomplished without a degree of condescension which appears ill suited to the dignity of a crowned head; and Wolsey received from the king of France the appellation of "lord," "father," "master," "guardian." Henry was little less flattered than his minister by the adulation paid to his servant; and when Wolsey, with pretended candour, shewed him the presents that he had received from the King of France, declaring that Francis had with these bribes attempted to corrupt him; that many servants would have concealed such gifts from their masters; but that he, being resolved to act with sincerity, exhibited them to Henry as a proof how much value was placed by foreign powers in the alliance with England *, Henry was gratified beyond measure at the greatness of a person whom he had raised from an obscure station; and, smiling, said "this Cardinal will govern both Francis and me."

All obstacles on the part of Wolsey being thus banished, a treaty was signed, which, in the opinion of Lord Herbert, merits particular attention as an excellent model for peace, and as affording the plan upon which the future con-

* *Lord Herbert.*

duct of Henry on similar occasions was formed. It will not, however, be here necessary to detail the articles of this treaty: it is sufficient to state that it included Francis and Henry as the heads, and Charles, the young king of Spain, Maximilian and Leo, if they choose, as contractors also. By this league a marriage was set on foot between the princess Mary, the only surviving child of Henry and of Katharine, then four years of age, and the dauphin of France, an infant of a year old.* The forfeiture of Tournay to the English was made the penalty of any infraction of this clause on the part of Francis; it was, however, never fulfilled. The young princess was supposed to take with her a dowry of three hundred thousand crowns, of which Francis was to acknowledge the implied receipt; but that prince, not being at that time able to pay the sums agreed upon for the restitution of Tournay, was obliged to dispatch to England six lords in hostage.

An interview between the two kings was likewise proposed, and some place between Boulogne and Calais specified as the proper place of their meeting. This interesting event was, however, delayed for some time by the death of Maximilian, emperor of Germany, in

* *Mezerai.*

the ensuing year. The obsequies of the emperor were solemnly celebrated at Saint Paul's cathedral; and scarcely were his remains cold, when intrigues and treaties were set on foot, concerning the election of a successor to the empire.

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